Studies in PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY

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STUDIES IN PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY

AND ITS BACKGROUND

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this inquiry is to investigate certain religious concepts which were fundamental in the thought of the apostle Paul. For the delimitation of the field those concepts have been chosen which, as will be later argued, formed the intellectual groundwork of his teaching, and belong to a domain usually designated as Eschatology. The ripened products of Paul's thought which constitute his theology are here not expounded; the inquiry rather is into those basal conceptions out of which the theology grew. Hence the attempt is to examine that intellectual equipment, inherited largely from the past, with which he addressed himself to the pressing problems of his day. For this purpose it will be necessary to study the general religious outlook of his race at the time during which he wrote which, in turn, can only be properly determined by an analysis of Jewish beliefs and speculations in the centuries immediately preceding.

In the treatment of any concepts that belong to the progress of a nation's thought, an important question arises as to the selection of a timepoint in the stream of development—to use a current

expression—wherewith to commence the investigation. Naturally the stream cannot be traced to its original source for that would lead back to an age so distant that nothing but the merest conjecture could be formed in view of the lack of memorials, literary, archæological or otherwise. Indeed, as the development of the Jewish eschatological thought is not in itself the objective of this thesis, but rather the bearing of such a product upon the outlook of Paul, the needs of the case can be reasonably satisfied if the analysis begins with the distinct literary remains of early Hebrew prophecy represented by such names as Amos, Hosea and Isaiah. This preliminary task will be limited as far as possible to the delineation of the great outstanding hopes which gave perpetual vitality to the long line of prophetic succession, and which, when prophecy in the accepted sense had ceased, and was replaced by a new movement described as apocalyptic, still persisted in spite of the transformations conditioned by an ever-changing history.

It may be claimed that the attempt to discover what were the actual thought processes of people living over two thousand years ago must always remain unsatisfactory, especially when the people often resorted to allegory and pictorial symbolism to express their meaning. But this difficulty lies behind all investigation into the life of primitive peoples, and to a less or greater measure awakens any investigator handling an historical question to a sense of the seriousness of his problem. It

might be conceded indeed that the more allegorical and fanciful a writer the greater the liability that an interpreter should fail to grasp the import of his message, and that becomes a perplexing handicap when a whole system of teaching is couched in the symbols of mysticism as instanced by that of Philo. However, in this development it is a source of satisfaction that certain of the cardinal beliefs under consideration were unfolded by prophets who were too intense in their moral aims to becloud their messages by the constant use of ambiguous language, and this taken into conjunction with the fact that the more oracular utterances of the age of apocalyptic may often have their hidden meanings disclosed by the events of contemporary history, makes less difficult the treatment.

Starting then with religious experiences known mainly by their records in Hebrew literature of the eighth century B.C., the attempt will be made to follow the course of eschatological development down to the time of Late Judaism when Paul appeared upon the scene. The main concepts under review will be those treated in the first chapter:—The Day of Yahweh, The Messianic Expectation, The Future Life, Pneuma and Psyche, together with those hopes and beliefs which grew out of them. It must not be supposed that such an analysis would exhaust the description of all the sources of influence upon the mind of Paul at the commencement of his career. The complete background is obviously not on

record. Moreover, it might be reasonably held that a considerable portion of eschatological material never formed a part of his education, and a great deal more he might conceivably have rejected, but, nevertheless, to discover what was the apocalyptic teaching in currency when he was shaping the religious views of the primitive church is essential for an adequate appreciation of his own position.

Following that, the main interest will consist in the analysis of the apostle's views with regard to the future age. The heir to the accumulated inheritance of Pharisaic apocalyptic gathered mainly out of the issues which produced the Maccabæan times, did he tacitly accept the traditions as a finality, and then proceed to construct his theology, or did he on the other hand subject it to a rigorous examination modifying it and developing it, as his intense missionary zeal brought him in vital touch with the varied religious phenomena of the Græco-Roman world?

This, then, is the task of the thesis. It is not a case of what might be called "the objective truth" of the beliefs registered in the literature, not a case of the discovery of criteria by which certain religious views might be rejected as simply "subjective fancy," and others sustained because of their supposed "absolute validity," but rather a question of determining by critical analysis, how various controlling ideas which regulated and inspired the action and thought of a people emerged out of antecedent ideas into distinct-

ness, and how, in their turn, these again were formative in producing the thought-content of a succeeding age. The setting forth of that development is here regarded as a psychological study. Before the investigator are given language-records, really an elaborated system of symbols which, according to their characteristics, may be designated prophetic, apocalyptic, epistolary and so on. Assuming now it is possible to place fairly approximately the records in chronological succession, the question is as to the nature of the interaction between the processes of imagination, belief and reflection, and the political events of a nation or a group of individuals, as this interaction is reflected in the transmitted symbols which we call their literature.

The historical investigation into the order of the books in both the Old and New Testaments constitutes a special problem in itself. With regard to the Old Testament many sections in Pre-exilic prophecy are by some authorities relegated to Post-exilic times. That, however, is not so vital to this inquiry, for wherever they are placed they long antedate the Pauline literature, and hence help to form its background. Introduction, though, becomes more important when the writings of Paul are being examined, as it is precisely the development of certain phases of their content that forms this task. It will then be necessary to state briefly the generally accepted findings upon the order of the epistles. As an essential preliminary to this, there is supplied in

tabular form the variations in the main concepts of the historical works, in their order, of the Hebrew prophets and the writers of subsequent Jewish religious literature down to the latter part of the first Christian century. The summary of these fundamental concepts thus affords the appropriate introduction to the analytic study of their operation in the religious thought of Paul.

ANALYSIS OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS FR

	Circa 750 B.C. Amos.	C. 740 B.C. Hosea.	740–701 B.C. I Isaiah. (Probable Isaianic portions of section i-xxxix).	C. 722. Micah.	668–607 B.C. Nahum.	621 B.C. Zephaniah.	607 B.C. Habakkuk.	626- J
The Day of Yahweh.	Day of Disaster upon Israel and surrounding nations. i-ii; v, 18-20.	Disaster upon Israel. iv; v, 9-15; viii.	Day of Disaster upon wicked nations, Israel included, with vindication of Yahweh alone. ii, 11.	Disaster upon Israel and Judah. i, iii, vi.	Disaster upon Nineveh. ii, 8-13; iii.	Disaster upon Judah and hostile nations. i, 4; ii, 4-15; iii, 1-8.	Disaster upon Judah and Chaldæans. i, 6, 11; ii.	Disaster up all unrighteou xxv.
Accompaniments.	viii, 9.	x, 8.	v, 30; xxix, 6.	i, 4.	i, 5.	i, 15.		iv, 24.
Messianic Kingdom.	National Restoration. ix, 8c-15.	National Restoration. xi, 8; xiv, 5.	Survival of Remnant and perpetuation of righteous Zion. i, 24-27; ii, 2-4; iv, 2-6; x, 20-21; xi, 11-16; xxix, 5-8, xxxi, 5.	Restoration of Remnant. ii, 12; iv, 1-8; v, 7, 8.	National Restoration. i, 13; ii, 1, 2.	Restoration of Remnant. iii, 9-20.	ii, 14.	Return of t 10-14; xxx-xx
Messiah.		Restoration of David. iii, 5.	(1) A Deliverer expected. See the Emmanuel and Child oracles, etc. vii, 10-17; viii, 8-10; ix, 1-7; xi, 1-10. (2) The deliverance to be accomplished through Yahweh. xxxi 4-5; xxxiii, 17-22.	(1) A Davidic Prince. v, 2-4. (2) Seven shepherds and eight princes fight against Assyria. v, 5-7.				(1) Deliverer xxiii, 5; (2) The wise iii, 15; x
Time.		iii, 4.	Following the destruction of the Assyrian empire, which is nigh at hand. x, 25; xxix, 17.	At downfall of Assyria. v, 5, 6.	At downfall of Assyria, soon to be accomplished. i, 13-15.	i, 7, 14.	Close at hand. ii, 3.	After seve xxv, 12.
Resurrection.								
Attitude to Gentiles.	A wide universalism. ix, 7.	Hostility to Egypt and Assyria. vii, 11; viii, 8-13; ix-xiv.	(1) Hostile nations, agents of Yahweh's judgments, are in their turn destroyed. x, 5-34; xiv, 24-31. (2) Inclusion of Gentiles within future kingdom. ii, 2-4; xviii, 7 (xix, 25).	(1) Destruction of Assyria. v, 5, 6. (2) Servile subjection of Gentiles. vii, 17. (3) Conversion of Gentiles. iv, 2-5.	Gentiles described as "The Wicked." i, 15.	(1) Their general destruction. ii, 7, 9, 12. (2) A reference to the worship of Yahweh by foreign peoples. ii, 11; iii, 9 ff.	Contrast between the "righteous" Judah, and the "wicked" Gentiles. i, 13.	(1) Nebuchad of Yahwe ment. x (2) Foreign blessed i xvi, 19.
Sheol.	A deep place as contrasted with heaven. ix, 2.	National restoration described as deliverance from Sheol. xiii, 14.	(1) Place where human glory is brought to nought. v, 14. (2) The deep place. vii, 11. (3) Popular belief in necromancy. viii, 19. (4) Equivalent to death. xxviii, 15.				Equivalent to death. ii, 5.	A deep pit.
Spirit.		(1) Wind or breath. xiii, 15. (2) The mad spirit of a prophet. ix, 7.	(1) Ethical. xi, 2; xix, 14. (2) Contrasted with the weakness of flesh. xxxi, 3. (3) Spirits of departed believed to have some feeble activity. xxix, 4.	Ethical. ii, 11.				(1) Breath o (2) False pro (3) The east
Soul.	The life upon earth, expressed by the reflexive pronoun. ii, 14.	Desire or heart. iv, 8.	(1) Appetite or desire. v, 14. (2) Physical hunger and thirst. xxix, 8. (3) The emotions. i, 14; xix, 10.	Physical and moral appetites predicated of soul. vi, 7; vii, 1-3.				(1) The physic 17. (2) Life of iii, 11. (3) The collec (4) Affections 25.
Flesh.			Symbol of weakness. xxxi, 3.	The soft parts of the body. iii, 2.				
Life and Death.	National. ii, 2, 3; v, 4.	Similar to that of Amos. vi, 2.	Individual and national. vi, 1; x, 7; 15-19; x, 20 ff.			Individual and national. i, 3, 4; ii, 12, 13; iii, 8.	Qualitative. ii, 4.	ii, 13; x, 1 11; xxi, 6; xx
Angelology and Demonology.			Vision of seraphim. vi.			i, 4-5.		viii, 2.

S CONCEPTS FROM THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C. TO THE BEGINNING OF THE GREEK PERIOD.

07 B.C.	626–586 B.C.	597–570 B.C.	538, 536 B.C.	520–500 B.C.	450–400 B.C.	(Fourth Century Writings.)	Othe
abakkuk.	Jeremiah.	Ezekiel.	Isaiah xl-lv. Isaiah xiii-xiv, 22.	Haggai and Zechariah. i-viii. Isaiah 34-35. Obadiah.	Malachi; Isaiah lvi-lxvi.	Joel; Isaiah 24-27; Zechariah 9-14.	
upon Judah and . i, 6, 11; ii.	Disaster upon Judah, Israel and all unrighteous nations. i, 11-16; xxv.	Disaster upon Israel and hostile nations. i-xxiv; xxv-xxxii.	Judgment upon Babylon to be accomplished through Cyrus. xlvii-xlviii; xiii, 6, 17.	Disaster upon Gentiles. Haggai ii; Zechariah i, 18-21; Isaiah xxxiv; Obadiah i, 15.	Disaster upon unrighteous Israel. Malachi iii, 5-14; Isaiah lvi ff.	(1) Disaster upon Judah. Joel i-ii. (2) Upon hostile nations and evil rulers of Israel, and upon the "High ones on High." Isaiah xxiv, Zechariah ix, x, xi, xii, 3-9; xiv.	General lix; lxx;
	iv, 24.	xxxviii, 22.	xiii, 10.	Haggai ii, 6; Isaiah xxxiv, 4.	Malachi iv, 1; Isaiah lx, 19; lxv, 25.	Joel ii, 30, 31; Isaiah xxiv, 20; Zechariah xiv, 6.	cii, 26
	Return of the Captivity. xxix, 10-14; xxx-xxxiii.	Restoration of Remnant, and future prosperity of Israel. vi, 8; xi, 17-20; xiv, 21-23; xvi, 60-63; etc.	Establishment of kingdom in righteousness and peace. liv, 11-17; lv, 3-13; xiv, 1, 2.	Establishment in prosperity. Haggai ii, 9; Zechariah i, 16, 17; ii; Isaiah xxxv; Obadiah i, 17-21.	Establishment in righteousness and prosperity. Malachi iii, 3, 4; Isaiah lxi, 4; lx-lxii; lxv, 9-10; lxvi, 10-14.	(1) Restoration of Israel. Joel iii, 1-20; Isaiah xxvii, 6-13. (2) Establishment of the house of David. Zechariah ix, 9, 10; xii, 7-14; x, 6-12; xiii, 1.	An etern cxxxii.
	(1) Deliverer of Davidic descent. xxiii, 5; xxx, 9; xxxiii. (2) The wise rule of shepherds. iii, 15; xxiii, 4.	(1) Establishment of David as Prince. xxxiv, 23, 24; xxxvii, 24-28. (2) A succession of princes. xlv, 9-xlvi, 24.	(1) Cyrus; (a) The Shepherd and Anointed of Yahweh. (b) The destroyer of Babylon. xliv, 28; xlviii, 14. (2) Interpretations of "Servant Passages."	Zerubbabel. Haggai ii, 23; Zechariah iii, 8; vi, 12.	The coming of Elijah, in preparation for kingdom of Yahweh. Malachi iv, 5.	(1) No mention of Messiah in Joel and Isaiah 24-27. (2) Reference to the coming of a king. Zechariah ix, 9-10.	Of Dav
hand. ii, 3.	After seventy years of exile. xxv, 12.	Close at hand. vii, 12.	Close at hand. xl, 1-11; xliv, 28.	Following building of Temple. Haggai ii, 6-9. Close at hand. Obadiah i, 15.	Close at hand. Isaiah lvi, 1.	Close at hand. Joel ii, 1; iii, 14.	
		National Resurrection in Vision of Dry Bones. xxxvii, 1-14.				Resurrection of righteous Israel only. (Probably individual.) Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) Sugge after- Job x (2) Sugge lxxxv ix. 5.
, between the " Judah, and the Gentiles. i, 13.	(1) Nebuchadnezzar, the servant of Yahweh, is agent of punishment. xxv, 9; xxvii, 6-22. (2) Foreign nations shall be blessed in Yahweh. iv, 2; xvi, 19.	Final destruction of Gentiles. xxv, xxxii.	(1) Forced submission of Gentiles and glorification of Israel due to victories of Cyrus. xlv, 14-17; xlix, 22, 23; xiv, 2. (2) Their salvation. xlv, 22; xlix, 6.	(1) Their general destruction. Zechariah i, 18-21; ii, 8; Isaiah xxxiv, 2. (2) Their supplication of Yahweh. Zechariah viii, 22.	(1) Destruction of all sinners. Isaiah lxvi, 24. (2) Gentile subjection to Israel. Isaiah lvi, lx, lxi. (3) Universalism. Malachi i, 11.	(1) Their general destruction. Joel iii, 2-20; Isaiah xxvi, 14; Zechariah x, 11; xii, 3-9; xiv. (2) Conversion of surviving Gentiles Zechariah xiv, 16.	(1) Their (2) Their Tobit (3) Their Psalm
nt to death. ii, 5.	A deep pit. xviii, 20.	(1) The nether parts of the earth. xxxii. (2) Suggestion of a low degree of life there. xxxii, 31.	(1) A place of some activity. xiv, 9-20. (2) Possibly a division in Sheol for the wicked. xiv, 15. (3) A deep place as contrasted with heaven. xiv, 13. (4) The place of sleep. xiv, 18.		Used figuratively to express idolatry of Israel. Isaiah lvii, 9.	The abode of the dead under the earth. Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) Place (2) Of co (3) Final (4) Prese Prove
	(1) Breath or life. x, 14. (2) False prophecy. v, 13. (3) The east wind. xviii, 17.	(1) The life of the organism. xxxvii, 6. (2) Wind. xvii, 10; xxxvii, 9. (3) Ethical. xi, 19. (4) The emotions, and synonymous with soul or heart. xxi, 7.	The emotions. liv, 6.	(1) The winds. Zechariah vi, 5. (2) The emotions. Haggai i, 14; Zechariah vi, 8.	(1) The emotions of contrition, sorrow and depression, etc. Isaiah lxi, 3; lxv, 14; lxvi, 2. (2) Equivalent to heart or soul. Isaiah lxv, 14; lvii, 16; lviii, 10.	(1) Wind. Isaiah xxvi, 18. (2) The emotions, and equivalent to soul. Isaiah xxvi, 9; Zechariah xii, 10.	(1) Ethica (2) Used Psalm (3) Breat xvi. (4) The xxvii. (5) Evide Job iv
	(1) The physical organism. xxxviii, 17. (2) Life of nation personified. iii, 11. (3) The collective sense, lii, 29. (4) Affections and appetites. xxxi, 25.	(1) Equivalent to blood. xxii, 27; xxxiii, 5. (2) Every living creature. xlvii, 9. (3) Equivalent to the emotions, flesh, spirit, or heart. xi, 19; xxiv, 21; xxvii, 31; xxxvi, 5.	Equivalent to life individual and national. xliii, 4; xlvii, 14; li, 23.			The emotions of weariness and disgust Zechariah xi, 8.	(1) Gener Psalm (2) Possib (3) Used xxv.
		Collective sense. xxi, 5.	Collective sense. xl, 5.	Collective. Zechariah ii, 13.	Collective. Isaiah lxvi, 23.	Collective. Joel ii, 28.	(1) The s (2) Human (3) Collect
ve. ii, 4.	ii, 13; x, 10; xxxviii, 2; xlix, 11; xxi, 6; xxxviii, 9.	Qualitative. xx, 11, 13, 25; xxxiii, 11; xxviii, 10; xxxiii, 8.	Qualitative. lv, 3.		(1) Qualitative. Malachi ii, 5. (2) A never-ending destruction of sinners. Isaiah lxvi, 24.	Resurrection life. Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) The (2) Qualit xix.
	viii, 2.	Description of Cherubim in the Vision of the glory of Yahweh. i.	Rahab. li, 9; xiii, 21; xiv, 13, 14.	Visions of Zechariah interpreted by angel. Satan, the adversary of Joshua. iii, 1. The desert monsters. Isaiah xxxiv, 13.	"The angel of his presence." Isaiah lxiii, 9.	"The unclean spirit." Zechariah xiii, 2. "The monster that is in the sea." Isaiah xxvii, 1.	(1) Satan (2) Rahab (3) Angel Job x

OD.

	(Fourth Century Writings.) Joel; Isaiah 24-27; Zechariah 9-14.	Other Writings, probably of Greek Period.	Original in 3rd Century. Sirach (Box and Oesterley).
rael. .	(1) Disaster upon Judah. Joel i-ii. (2) Upon hostile nations and evil rulers of Israel, and upon the ''High ones on High.'' Isaiah xxiv; Zechariah ix, x, xi, xii, 3-9; xiv.	General destruction of wicked. Psalms ix, 17; xlix; lix; lxix; lxxxiii.	
19;	Joel ii, 30, 31; Isaiah xxiv, 20; Zechariah xiv, 6.	cii, 26.	
ness 3, 4; -10;	(1) Restoration of Israel. Joel iii, 1-20; Isaiah xxvii, 6-13. (2) Establishment of the house of David. Zechariah ix, 9, 10; xii, 7-14; x, 6-12; xiii, 1.	An eternal kingdom expected. Psalms lxxii, 7; lxxxix; cxxxii.	
pre- weh.	(1) No mention of Messiah in Joel and Isaiah 24-27. (2) Reference to the coming of a king. Zechariah ix, 9-10.	Of Davidic descent. Psalms lxxxix, 3 ff; cxxxii.	
1.	Close at hand. Joel ii, 1; iii, 14.		
	Resurrection of righteous Israel only. (Probably individual.) Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) Suggestions of a resurrection or at least of an after-life. Psalms xvi; xxxvii; lxiii; xlix, 15; Job xix 25-27; Ecclesiastes viii, 12. (2) Suggestions of its denial. Psalms xxx; xxxix, 13; lxxxviii, 11; cxv; cxlvi; Job vii, x, xiv; Ecclesiastes ix, 5.	(1) Death of righteous is blessed. i, 13. (2) Suggestions of denial of immortality. xvii, 28; xxii, 11; xli, 1. (3) Immortality, the perpetuation of a good name. xxxix, 9.
ners. rael. 11.	(1) Their general destruction. Joel iii, 2-20; Isaiah xxvi, 14; Zechariah x, 11; xii, 3-9; xiv. (2) Conversion of surviving Gentiles. Zechariah xiv, 16.	(1) Their condemnation. Psalms ix, lviii lix, lxix. (2) Their submission to Israel. Psalms xxii, lxxii; Tobit xiv, 16. (3) Their future blessedness in common with Israel. Psalms lxxxvii, xcviii; Jonah iv, 11.	''The mercy of God is extended to all flesh.'' xviii, 13.
ress 9.	The abode of the dead under the earth. Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) Place of death. Psalms vi, xlix; Ecclesiastes ix. (2) Of corruption and dust. Job xvii. (3) Final abode of mankind. Job vii, x; Psalms lxxxix. (4) Presence of God in Sheol. Psalms cxxxix, 8; Proverbs xv.	Synonym for death. xiv, 12, 16; xvii, 27.
tion, etc. i, 2. soul. lviii,	(1) Wind. Isaiah xxvi, 18. (2) The emotions, and equivalent to soul. Isaiah xxvi, 9; Zechariah xii, 10.	(1) Ethical. Psalms xxxii; li, 17. (2) Used as soul or heart for emotions. Job vii, 11; Psalms cxliii, 3, 4. (3) Breath, wind, empty words. Psalms cxxxv; Job vi, xvi. (4) The life of the organism. Ecclesiastes iii; Job xxvii, xxxiv. (5) Evidently an existence independent of the body. Job iv, 15, 16; Tobit iii, 6.	Practically equivalent to soul and heart. iii, 26, 29; iv, 9; vii, 11; xvi, 17; xxx, 15.
	The emotions of weariness and disgust. Zechariah xi, 8.	(1) Generally equivalent to spirit, or heart, or life. Psalms lxxvii; Job xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xxxiii. (2) Possibly differentiated from spirit. Tobit iii, 10. (3) Used of bodily and moral appetites. Proverbs x, 3; xxv, 25.	Typical examples of interchangeability. iv; v, 2; vii, 29, 30; xviii, 30; xxvi, 6; xxx, 21-23.
	Collective. Joel ii, 28.	(1) The soft parts of the body. Job ii, 5; vi, 12. (2) Human weakness. Psalms lxxiii, 26. (3) Collective sense. Psalms lxv, 2.	Collective sense. i, 9, 10; xiii, 15; xviii, 13.
5. n of .	Resurrection life. Isaiah xxvi, 19.	(1) The life of the organism. Job ii, 4; vii, 16. (2) Qualitative. Ecclesiastes viii, 12; Psalms xvi, 11; xlix, 20.	Qualitative. Life is contentment, and obedience to wisdom. iv, 11 ff; xxii; xxix, 22.
ce.''	''The unclean spirit.'' Zechariah xiii, 2. ''The monster that is in the sea.'' Isaiah xxvii, 1.	(1) Satan, the adversary of Job. i, 6. (2) Rahab, Demons. Job xxvi, 12; Psalms cvi; Tobit vi, viii. (3) Angelic ministers of Yahweh. Psalms ciii, cxlviii; Job xxxviii, 7; Tobit iii.	

ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPTS IN THE APOCALYPTIC PERIOD

	170 B.C. I Enoch, 1-36 (Charles).	168 B.C. Daniel.	166–161 B.C. 1 Enoch 83-90 (Charles).	C. 160 B.C. Sibylline Oracles, Prologue and 111, 97-818 (Lanchester).	109–106 B.C. Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs (
The Judgment.	(1) First world-judgment upon angels, heavenly bodies, and mankind at the Deluge. x. 2; xxi, 6. (2) Final judgment at the commencement of Messianic kingdom upon angels, and demons, and unrighteous human beings who did not meet with retribution in this life. x, 6; xxii, 11; xxii, 4.	Destruction of the world-powers. vii.	(1) First world-judgment at the Deluge. lxxxiv. (2) Final, upon wicked angels, Gentile oppressors, and apostate Jews. Initiated by Judas Maccabæus, and completed by God. xc, 9-27.	Hostile nations destroyed in their final assault on Jerusalem. 663-701.	Upon unrighteous Israel and unrighteous G x, 8-10; Lev. iii, 3.
Accompaniments.			"I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains hung suspended on mountains." lxxxiii, 4.	"From heaven shall fall fiery swords down to the earth, . . . with fire and cataclysms of rain." . . . 672-689, 801.	Rending of rocks, quenching of sun, dryi T. Lev. iv, 1, 2.
Messianic Kingdom.	A kingdom upon this earth which is greatly increased in fertility. x, 7-22. Its members live long and prosperous lives. xxv, 6.	Upon this present earth. vii; xii.	Removal of the Old Jerusalem and the establishment of the New. xc, 28, 29.	A temporary era of great prosperity and peace "till the end of the age." 741 ff.	An eternal kingdom on the present earth.
Messiah.		No clear reference.	The Messiah, conceived under symbolism of a white bull, to appear, and members of kingdom to be transformed into his likeness. xc, 37-40.	The establishment of the royal tribe of Judah. 288.	A descendant of Levi, designated as Pro King. He will be the Mediator for the Genti the nations, will destroy Beliar, and will o the righteous. T. R. vi, 7-12; Lev. viii, 14, 1
Time.	After final judgment and resurrection. Interval between two judgments:— (a) Five hundred years. x, 10. (b) Seventy generations. x, 12.	(1) After the destruction of the Syrian empire. vii, 25; xii, 7-11. (2) After seventy weeks of years following the exile. ix, 24; Cf, Jer. xxv, 11, 12.	At close of judgment and coincident with Maccabæan success. xc, 9-40.		At the close of the judgment and resurrect
Resurrection.	(1) Righteous Israelites with bodies. xxv, 4-6. (2) Disembodied wicked who did not meet with requital upon earth. xxii, 11.	Saints and apostates rise. xii, 2.	Righteous Israel only rise to share in the kingdom. whether bodily resurrection or pneumatic not clearly shown. xc, 33.		(1) Of certain Old Testament saints. T. Be (2) Of leaders of tribes. "Then shall we a over our tribe." Following resurrection x, 7. (3) Of all Israel, righteous and wicked. " and some unto shame." T. Ben. x, 8. rection of (2). (4) Righteous raised on the right hand, and w
Attitude to Gentiles.	Conversion of Gentiles, but no mention of their resurrection. x, 21.	Conversion of Gentiles, but no mention of their resurrection. vii, 14.	Conversion of surviving non-hostile nations, and their subjection to Israel. xc, 30.	Conversion of Gentiles. 718.	The broadest universalism. All Gentiles t vation of God. T. Lev. xviii, 9; T. Ben. x,
Sheol.	Four Divisions. (1) Intermediate abode of righteous spirits. xxii, 9. (2) Intermediate abode of martyred righteous. xxii, 1-14. (3) Intermediate abode of unrighteous spirits who did not meet with earthly retribution. xxii, 10, 11. (4) Final abode of unrighteous spirits who met with requital in earthly life. xxii, 13.	(1) Intermediate abode of saints and apostates. (2) Final abode of all others. xii, 2. "The land of dust."	Intermediate abode of all mankind. Paradise possibly the abode for Enoch and Elijah. lxxxvii, 3, 4; lxxxix, 52. Gehenna the final abode of faithless angels, Gentiles, and apostate Jews. xc, 25-27.	Paradise the eternal abode of the righteous, and Gehenna the eternal abode of the wicked. "Ye shall be burned with torches the live-long day throughout the age." Pro. III, 44.	Intermediate abode of souls or spirits of ment. Gehenna, the final abode of Belia spirits. T. Lev. iii, 2; iv, 1; T. R. iv, 6; Paradise opened to the saints; they shall "e of life." T. Lev. xviii, 10, 11. Certain three heavens, the third and highest being th others refer to seven, probably a further clas ii, 7-iii, 8; v, 1; T. J. xxi, 3, 4; xxiv, 2.
Spirit.	(1) Applied to demons who are capable of assuming many forms in their temptation of man. xix, 1. (2) Applied to the inhabitants of Sheol. xxii, 5.	(1) Ethical. vi, 3; v, 10-13. (2) Possibly regarded as existing apart from the body. vii, 15.		Opposed to flesh. God, who is spirit, is invisible to man. "For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true God the Immortal?" Pro. 1, 10, 11.	Spirit described as invisible. "And the melting away." T. Lev. iv, 1.
Soul.	Not used of angels or demons, but in other uses identical with spirit. xxii, 3.				Used synonymously with spirit. T. R. iv, 6
Flesh.		vii, 15.	A distinction between flesh of unrighteousness which is destroyed at the judgment, and flesh of righteousness which survives. lxxxiv, 6.	The physical organism. Pro. I, 1.	
Life and Death.	Death not annihilation. Souls and spirits "in torment for ever." "Here their spirits shall be set apart in their great pain till the great day of judgment . . . there he shall bind them for ever." xxii, 11.	Eternal shame of wicked. xii, 2.		Life in Gehenna an eternal dying. Pro. III, 44	Members of Messianic kingdom enjoy ete xxv, 1-5; T. L. ii, 11, 12. Death is eterna sinners. It is separation from God. "For soul is the sin of fornication separating it fr iv, 6; v, 5.
Angelology and Demonology.	Origin of evil upon the earth due to angels, "the sons of the heavens," led by Semjaza and Azazel. vi; viii; x. The spirits that proceeded from the giants at death perpetuate evil upon the earth. xv, 8, 9.	Michael contends with the angels of Persia and Greece. Gabriel interprets Daniel's vision. viii, 16; ix; x, 13-21; xii, 2.	(1) Seventy angels symbolized by seventy shepherds. lxxxix, 59. (2) Seven righteous angels assigned by God to punish the seventy shepherds. xc, 20, 21. Michael—Mediator for Israel. (3) Fallen angels symbolized by stars. lxxxviii, 1.	Angelic leadership of Israel at the exodus 248.	(1) Angels of the Presence. T. L. xviii, 5. (2) Mediatorship of Michael. "For he is a God and man, and for the peace of Isra up against the kingdom of the enemy." (3) Destruction of Beliar by the Messiah. " power to his children to tread upon t T. L. xviii, 11, 12. (4) Strife between Michael and the kingdom vi, 4, 5.

E APOCALYPTIC PERIOD FROM THE RISE OF THE MACCABEES TO THE MIDDLE OF FIRST CENTURY B.C.

	109–106 B.C.	109–105 B.C.	104–95 B.C.	94–64 B.C.	
and	Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs (Charles).	Jubilees (Charles).	I Enoch, 91-104 (Charles).	I Enoch, 37-71 (Charles).	
their 663-	Upon unrighteous Israel and unrighteous Gentiles. T. Ben. x, 8-10; Lev. iii, 3.	(1) First judgment upon world before establishment of Messianic kingdom. "The Woes of the Messiah." xxiii. (2) Final judgment at the close, notably upon demons. x, 5-8; xxiii, 11.	Upon angels and human beings at close of Messianic kingdom. xci; xcv, 7; xcvi, 1.	(1) Preliminary judgment upon fallen angels. (2) Final upon fallen angels, and upon the kings of the earth who oppress the saints. liii, 3; liv, 5, 6; lv, 4.	x
fiery . . . ain."	Rending of rocks, quenching of sun, drying up of waters. T. Lev. iv, 1, 2.				
pros- nd of	An eternal kingdom on the present earth. T. R. vi, 11, 12.	Gradual establishment of a temporary kingdom upon the present earth, with life of members greatly prolonged. xxiii, 16-29; xxv, 15-21.	(1) A temporary kingdom upon this earth. (2) Finally a New Heaven created in which righteous spirits live for ever. xci, 12-17.	An eternal kingdom of angels and human beings, in a new heaven and new earth. xxxix, 4; xlv, 4, 5.	((: (
royal	A descendant of Levi, designated as Prophet, Priest and King. He will be the Mediator for the Gentiles, King over all the nations, will destroy Beliar, and will open Paradise for the righteous. T. R. vi, 7-12; Lev. viii, 14, 18; xviii, 10.	Of the tribe of Judah. xxxi, 18.		(1) Pre-existence of the Messiah. "And before the sun and the signs were created, . . . his name was named before the Lord of Spirits." (2) He is designated as "The Christ; The Righteous One; The Son of Man"; He will "recall the dead to life, and will sit upon the throne of his glory and will judge angels and men." xlv, 3; xlvi, 3; xlviii, 3, 10; xlix; li; lxii, 5-9; etc.	D th of
	At the close of the judgment and resurrection.	Messianic kingdom precedes final judgment.	(1) Temporary kingdom precedes final judgment. Duration, three world-weeks. (2) New Heaven follows final judgment.	Kingdom follows final judgment. li; liii, 2-6.	
	(1) Of certain Old Testament saints. T. Ben. x, 6. (2) Of leaders of tribes. "Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe." Following resurrection of (1). T. Ben. x, 7. (3) Of all Israel, righteous and wicked. "Some unto glory and some unto shame." T. Ben. x, 8. Following resurrection of (2). (4) Righteous raised on the right hand, and wicked on the left.	No bodily resurrection, but immortality of spirits clearly taught. "And their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will have much joy." xxiii, 31.	Resurrection of righteous Israel in spirit only, not to the temporary Messianic kingdom, but to the New Heaven after judgment. xcii, 3; ciii, 3-5.	No fleshly resurrection, but pneumatic resurrection of all Israel. They will be clothed in "garments of life before the Lord of spirits." They will become "like angels in heaven." li, 4; lxi, 5; lxii, 16.	((:
8.	The broadest universalism. All Gentiles to receive the salvation of God. T. Lev. xviii, 9; T. Ben. x, 5.	Main attitude of book is that of severe condemnation of Gentiles, the death penalty being imposed upon Israelites for inter-marriage with them. xxx, 7-17.	Their general destruction. "And they (the heathen) will be cast into the judgment of fire." xci, 9.	(1) A general attitude of hostility. Gentiles are to be destroyed in spite of their repentance. lxii, 9-13. (2) Their possible salvation. l, 3.	" in pe ur xv
the rnal l be long Pro.	Intermediate abode of souls or spirits of men before judgment. Gehenna, the final abode of Beliar and of wicked spirits. T. Lev. iii, 2; iv, 1; T. R. iv, 6; T. Jud. xxv, 3. Paradise opened to the saints; they shall "eat from the tree of life." T. Lev. xviii, 10, 11. Certain sections refer to three heavens, the third and highest being the abode of God; others refer to seven, probably a further classification. T. L. ii, 7-iii, 8; v, 1; T. J. xxi, 3, 4; xxiv, 2.	A place of condemnation for "eaters of blood, and those who shed men's blood." vii, 29; xxii, 22.	(1) Intermediate abode of righteous Israel. (2) Final abode of punishment for wicked. "For you shall be slain in Sheol." xcviii, 3, 10; xcix, 11; c, 5; civ, 7, 8.	(1) Intermediate abode of righteous and wicked. (2) Final abode of punishment for wicked at final judgment. Gehenna, the abode of fallen angels and the kings of the earth. Heaven, the final abode of righteous spirits. li, 4; liii, 3-5; liv, 1, 2; lxiii. See also xli, 2; lx, 23; lxi, 12.	H wi
o is For the Im-	Spirit described as invisible. "And the invisible spirits melting away." T. Lev. iv, 1.	(1) Spirits of righteous Israelites, without body, survive death. (2) Applied to angels and demons. xxiii, 30, 31; x, 5-13.	(1) Spirits of wicked cast into furnace of fire. (2) Spirits of righteous in Sheol. (3) Spirits of righteous in New Heaven become "companions of the heavenly hosts." xcviii, 3, 10; ciii, 4; civ, 2-6.	It is the spirit that ascends into heaven, though souls and spirits may descend into Sheol. Enoch's spirit ascends into heaven, and sees the "sons of the holy angels stepping on flames of fire." lxxi, 1.	
	Used synonymously with spirit. T. R. iv, 6.	(1) Synonymous with blood. "And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul." (2) Generally synonymous with spirit. xxi, 17, 18; x, 3.	Generally synonymous with spirit. cii, 4, 5.	Souls descend into the "flame of the pain of Sheol." lxiii, 10.	
Pro.		The collective sense. x, 3; iii, 7.			
rnal	Members of Messianic kingdom enjoy eternal life. T. J. xxv, 1-5; T. L. ii, 11, 12. Death is eternal punishment for sinners. It is separation from God. "For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication separating it from God." T. R. iv, 6; v, 5.	(1) Physical life and death. (2) Eternal life of the spirit. iv, 29 ff; xxv, 16; xxiii, 18, 31.	Departure of wicked into Sheol is death, though not annihilation. "Know ye not that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol, and they will become wretched, and great will be their pain. ciii, 7.	Death is continuous destruction, and banishment from the Lord of Spirits. The righteous live "in the light of eternal life." liii, 2; lxi, 12; lxii, 16; lxvi, 8.	be "T for me vis ner
l at	(1) Angels of the Presence. T. L. xviii, 5. (2) Mediatorship of Michael. "For he is a mediator between God and man, and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy." T. Dan. vi, 2. (3) Destruction of Beliar by the Messiah. "And he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits." T. L. xviii, 11, 12. (4) Strife between Michael and the kingdom of Satan. T. D. vi, 4, 5.	Hierarchy of angels. (1) Angels of the Presence. (2) Angels of the Sanctification. (3) Angels in control of natural phenomena. (4) The seventy patron angels of the Gentiles. (5) Angels who are guardians of individuals. ii, 2-18; xv, 31; xxxv, 17. (6) An organized demonic kingdom ruled by a chief, Mastema, who destroy men. x, 2-8; xv, 32; xvii, 16; xlviii.	(1) Mediatorship of angels. "And in those days make ready ye righteous to raise your prayers as a memorial, and he will place them as a testimony before the angels in order that they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High." xcix, 3. (2) Worship of demons by the wicked condemned. xcix, 7.	(1) Several archangels mentioned: Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel. (2) Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim surround the throne. lxi, 10; lxxi, 7. (3) A kingdom of Satans led by a chief Satan. They accuse men to God. They are regarded as the first authors of sin—the "Watchers" who fell through disobedience. xl, 7; liii, 3; liv, 6.	

DLE OF FIRST CENTURY B.C.

es).	94–64 B.C. I Enoch, 37-71 (Charles).	C. 70–40 B.C. Psalms of Solomon (Gray).	Early in 1 Cent. B.C. (Ball). Judith (Cowley).	Middle of 1 Cent. B.C. Sibylline Oracles iii, 1-62. (Lanchester).
close of Messianic	(1) Preliminary judgment upon fallen angels. (2) Final upon fallen angels, and upon the kings of the earth who oppress the saints. liii, 3; liv, 5, 6; lv, 4.	Judgment upon hostile nations. xvii, 27-39.	Upon hostile nations. xvi, 17.	Upon all men. 53-61.
			"The rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence." xvi, 15.	"A cataract of fire shall flow from heaven." 54.
arth. which righteous	An eternal kingdom of angels and human beings, in a new heaven and new earth. xxxix, 4; xlv, 4, 5.	(1) A temporary kingdom upon the present earth. (2) Return of the Dispersed under the Messiah. xvii, 28-36. (3) Only surviving righteous are members. xvii, 50.		On this present earth. 49.
	(1) Pre-existence of the Messiah. "And before the sun and the signs were created, . . . his name was named before the Lord of Spirits." (2) He is designated as "The Christ; The Righteous One; The Son of Man"; He will "recall the dead to life, and will sit upon the throne of his glory and will judge angels and men." xlv, 3; xlvi, 3; xlviii, 3, 10; xlix; li; lxii, 5-9; etc.	A righteous king of the house of David expected who "will destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth." xvii, 23-35.		"A holy Prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world unto all ages." 49, 50.
final judgment. t.	Kingdom follows final judgment. li; liii, 2-6.			At close of Roman rule. iii, 46-48.
spirit only, not but to the New 3-5.	No fleshly resurrection, but pneumatic resurrection of all Israel. They will be clothed in "garments of life before the Lord of spirits." They will become "like angels in heaven." li, 4; lxi, 5; lxii, 16.	(1) No reference to resurrection of righteous dead to share in kingdom, though spirits of righteous Israel rise to eternal life. (2) No mention of bodily resurrection. iii, 16.		
ey (the heathen) " xci, 9.	(1) A general attitude of hostility. Gentiles are to be destroyed in spite of their repentance. lxii, 9-13. (2) Their possible salvation. 1, 3.	Attitude of extreme hostility. "With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces their substance." Repentant nations will be placed under the yoke of the Messiah. xvii, 24-32.	Destruction of hostile nations. xvi, 17.	Destruction of oppressors.
srael. wicked. "For viii, 3, 10; xcix,	(1) Intermediate abode of righteous and wicked. (2) Final abode of punishment for wicked at final judgment. Gehenna, the abode of fallen angels and the kings of the earth. Heaven, the final abode of righteous spirits. li, 4; liii, 3-5; liv, 1, 2; lxiii. See also xli, 2; lx, 23; lxi, 12.	A place of fire and darkness or Hell, the permanent abode of the wicked. xiv, 5, 6; xv, 11; xvi, 2.		
ce of fire. en become "com- " xcviii, 3, 10;	It is the spirit that ascends into heaven, though souls and spirits may descend into Sheol. Enoch's spirit ascends into heaven, and sees the "sons of the holy angels stepping on flames of fire." lxxi, 1.		Used generally for the emotions. vii, 19.	
cii, 4, 5.	Souls descend into the "flame of the pain of Sheol." lxiii, 10.		Synonymous with spirit. iv, 9.	
			The physical organism. ii, 4.	
death, though not will be made to me wretched, and	Death is continuous destruction, and banishment from the Lord of Spirits. The righteous live "in the light of eternal life." liii, 2; lxi, 12; lxii, 16; lxvi, 8.	Eternal death of the wicked is to be remembered no more by God. "The destruction of the sinner is for ever. And he shall not be remembered when the righteous is visited. This is the portion of sinners for ever." iii, 13, 14.	Eternal punishment. "The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment; and they shall weep and feel their pain for ever." xvi, 17.	
righteous to raise will place them as ler that they may emorial before the icked condemned.	(1) Several archangels mentioned: Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel. (2) Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim surround the throne. lxi, 10; lxxi, 7. (3) A kingdom of Satans led by a chief Satan. They accuse men to God. They are regarded as the first authors of sin—the "Watchers" who fell through disobedience. xl, 7; liii, 3; liv, 6.			Cherubim at God's throne. iii, 1.

	100—40 B.C. II Maccabees (Moffatt).	After 50 B.C. (Holmes). After 30 B.C. (Bousset). (Alexandrian Literature.) Book of Wisdom. Chapters i–vi, 8 probably earlier than rest.	18–8 B.C. Zadokite Fragment (Charles).	C. 40 A.D. (Alexandrian.) Philo, Yonge's Translation used.	1-50 A.D. (Alexandrian.) 2 Enoch (Forbes and Charles).
Judgment	Upon Gentile oppressors. i, 28.	Judgment takes place immediately at death, in the lot assigned to righteous and wicked.	Upon the wicked. (1) Through the agency of Belial. (2) Through the sword of the Messiah. ix, 10-13.	No treatment of a general judgment.	Final judgment upon angels and upon wicked [illegible] close of Messianic kingdom. vii, 1 [illegible] etc.
Accompaniments					
Messianic Kingdom.	Eternal upon this present earth. Righteous Israelites rise to share in it. vii, 11, 12; xiv, 46.		A kingdom expected, but little said as to its nature.	Usually not much emphasis. Return of the tribes. iii, p. 494.	An era of great blessedness upon the earth. [illegible]
Messiah.			(1) A teacher of righteousness to appear as a forerunner of the Messiah. ix, 29-53. (2) The Messiah to spring from Aaron and Israel. ii, 10; viii; ix.	Return of the tribes under the guidance of a leader "more divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of man, invisible indeed to everyone else, but apparent only to those who were saved." iii, 494. No explicit treatment of a Messiah elsewhere.	
Time.			Forty years to elapse between the death of the Teacher of righteousness and the advent of the Messiah. ix, 39-49.		The kingdom to last for a thousand years [illegible]
Resurrection.	(1) Resurrection of righteous Israelites with bodies similar to earthly bodies for identification by friends. vii, 11. (2) No resurrection for the wicked. "But thou—the king—shalt have no resurrection to life." vii, 15.				No resurrection of Flesh, yet righteous souls have a [illegible] of the Divine glory." xxii, 8-10.
Attitude to Gentiles.	Hostility to oppressors.	Their general destruction. xix, 1-17.		Most favorable attitude. Philo's philosophy endeavors to prove the most intimate union between Greek philosophy and the Jewish religion.	
Sheol.	Intermediate abode of all Israel. vi, 23.			(1) Paradise identified with Wisdom. iv, 286, 287. (2) Gehenna; (a) The final abode of the wicked, who are "hurled down to Tartarus and profound darkness." iii, 491. (b) "Hell is the actual life of the wicked." ii, 169.	Intermediate abode of souls of men and beasts. [illegible] lviii, 5, 6. Paradise, the final abode of the righteous, called the [illegible] heaven, occasionally the seventh heaven. Gehenna [illegible] abode of angels and mankind. A northern region of [illegible] darkness, and a gloomy fire for ever burning [illegible] xlii; lxvii.
Spirit.	The emotions. "Full of noble spirit." vii, 21. "After rousing their spirits, he—Judas—issued his orders." xv, 10.	Wisdom penetrates "through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure, subtil." vii, 23.	The emotions. "But they hardened their spirit." iv, 6.	The Spirit of God is "the divine, the indivisible, the undistributable, . . . the Spirit which is everywhere diffused so as to fill the universe." i, 334.	
Soul.	(1) Term usually employed for that which survives death. vii, 37. (2) The emotions. xv, 17.	(1) Synonymous with spirit. vii, 26, 27. (2) Pre-existence of soul. "Now, I was a child good by nature and a good soul fell to my lot; nay, rather being good, I came into a body undefiled." viii, 19, 20.	Synonymous with spirit. i, 15.	(1) Usual term for the immortal part of man. "For those souls which are devoid of flesh and of the body, remaining undisturbed in the theatre of the universe . . . enjoy a pleasure to which no one offers any interruption." The soul has rational and irrational processes. i, 284, 335. (2) Occasionally applied to demons and angels as well as to man. i, 333. Pre-existence of soul. ii, 298, 299.	Pre-existence of soul. xxiii, 5.
Flesh.		Flesh and body are generally evil and corruptible. ix, 15.	Collective. i, 2; iii, 6.	Flesh and body essentially corruptible. "Depart, therefore, from the earthly parts which envelop thee, O my friend, fleeing from that base and polluted prison house, the body." ii, 44.	Flesh which is evil is destroyed before the entrance of soul into final abode. lxv, 10
Life and Death.	Future life of righteous is eternal. "Thou dost despatch us from this life, but the king of the world shall raise us up who have died for his laws, and revive us to life everlasting." vii, 9.	(1) Eternal life of righteous. "In the eyes of fools they seem to die. . . . Their hope is full of immortality." iii, 2-4. (2) The life of the wicked on earth is death. v, 13. (3) The wicked after physical death "shall lie utterly in waste and be in anguish." iv, 19.	"They who hold fast to Him are for the life of Eternity." v, 6.	Life is virtue, ii, 153.; Death is the life of the wicked. It is separation from God. "But he who is cast out by God must endure an eternal banishment." i, 175.	
Angelology and Demonology.	An angel of deliverance expected to save Israel from the Syrians. xi, 7. The "Sovereign of spirits" prepared a "great apparition, a horse with a terrible rider," to overwhelm the enemies of Israel. iii, 24, 25. The vision of Onias. Jeremiah appears to counsel and encourage the Jews. xv, 12-16.		Reference to the Prince of Light, probably Uriel. Strife of Belial against Israel. vi, 9; ix, 12.	Angels are incorporeal souls. i, 208. The air is filled with souls. Those near the earth are "attracted by sense" and descend into mortal bodies. i, 332.	(1) Recording angels who write the deeds of men [illegible] the Lord's face." (2) Angels in control of the stars, the seasons, etc. (3) Lustful angels are imprisoned under the earth till day of the great judgment. (4) Some rebellious angels are confined in [illegible] heaven," where they weep "incessantly through [illegible] hours." (5) Satan has his habitation in the air. iv, vii; xviii, 7; xix, 5; xxii, 8; xxix, 4 [illegible]

RST CENTURY B.C. TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM 70 A.D.

1–50 A.D. (Alexandrian.) 2 Enoch (Forbes and Charles).	1–60 A.D. The Assumption of Moses (Charles).	BEFORE 70 A.D. (Alexandrian.) IV Maccabees (Townshend).	60–100 A.D. II Baruch (Charles).	60–100 A.D. 4 Ezra (Box). Strands.—A. The Ezra Apocalypse. (Before 70 A.D.) B. The "Son of Man" Vision. (Before 70 A.D.) C. The Eagle Vision. (After 70 A.D.) D. The Ezra Legend. (After 70 A.D.) E. Salathiel Apocalypse. (After 70 A.D.) F. Redactional Sections. (After 70 A.D.)
Final judgment upon angels and upon wicked mankind at close of Messianic kingdom. vii, 1; xviii, 6; xxxix, 2; li, 3; etc.	Upon hostile nations at commencement of kingdom. x, 10.	Each soul at death enters its eternal abode, the righteous into blessedness, the wicked into Gehenna. ix, 8-32; x, 11-15; xiii.	(1) A time of great distress before Messianic kingdom. (Before 70 A.D.) xxvii-xxx. (2) Destruction of Rome by God. (Before 70 A.D.) (3) Final judgment upon wicked. (Before 70 A.D.) xxiii, 4, 5; xxx, 5; xxxix, 1-5.	The Messianic Woes. A. iv, v, vi. General destruction of hostile nations. B. xiii; E. vii. Destruction of Rome,—The Eagle—identified with the fourth beast of Daniel. C. xii, 11 ff.
	"The horns of the sun shall be broken, and he shall be turned into darkness. And the moon shall not give her light, and shall be turned wholly into blood. . . . And these shall return into the abyss." x, 5, 6.		Famine, earthquake and fire are precursors. (Before 70 A.D.) xxvii, 1-15.	"And the earth o'er wide regions shall open, and fire burst forth for a long period. . . . The wild beasts shall desert their haunts, and women bear monsters." A. v, 8; B. xiii, 9, 10.
An era of great blessedness upon the earth. xxxii-xxxiii.	(1) A temporary kingdom upon earth. i, 18; iii, 9. (2) After this Israel will be exalted to heaven. "And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars." x, 9.		(1) A temporary kingdom upon the earth, with the restoration of Jerusalem. xl; xliv, 7; lxxvii, 6. (2) At its close the world will become invisible and incorruptible. xliv, 12; li, 8.	Restoration of the Ten Tribes. B. xiii, 12, 40. "And the whole earth freed from thy violence shall be refreshed again." C. xi, 46; E. vii, 114.
			(1) In some sections there seems to be no Messiah expected. (After 70 A.D.) (2) In others, a Messiah will reign in the temporary kingdom, after which he ascends to heaven. (Before 70 A.D.) xxix, 3–xxx, 1.	(1) Enoch, Elijah and others expected to return before consummation. A. vi, 26. (2) The Son of Man, whom "the Most High is keeping many ages," is to come in the clouds of heaven, and destroy all hostile nations. B. xiii, 3-38. (3) The Messiah, symbolized by a Lion, will destroy the Eagle C. xi, 37-40; xii, 31, 32. (4) Pre-existence of Messiah. D. xiv, 9. (5) The Messiah reigns in his temporary kingdom for four hundred years, after which he dies, together with all mankind. F. vii, 27, 28.
The kingdom to last for a thousand years. xxxii-xxxiii.	The kingdom to be established 1,750 years after the death of Moses. x, 12.		"For truly my redemption has drawn nigh and is not far distant as aforetime." xxi, 19; xliv, 9-15. "The youth of the world is past . . . and the coming of the time is all but here, and nearly overpast." lxxxv, 10.	The kingdom follows destruction of Rome, which is very near "The Highest looked upon his times, and lo, they were at an end. and his æons, and lo, they were full." C. xi, 37-44. "The æon hastens mightily to its end . . . This æon is full of mourning and hardship." E. iv.
No resurrection of Flesh, yet righteous souls have a "body of the Divine glory." xxii, 8-10.	Resurrection to heaven of righteous spirits only. x, 9.	No resurrection of body. Immortality of soul or spirit. xiii, 16; xviii, 23.	(1) "For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead . . . making no change in their form . . . For then it will be necessary to show to the living that their dead have come to life again." 1, 2, 3. xxx, 2. (2) The resurrected body is then transformed into the pneumatic existence. xlix, 2-li. (After 70 A.D.)	General resurrection of Jew and Gentile with bodies for final judgment. "The earth shall restore them that sleep in her. . . . And the chambers shall restore those that were committed to them." F. vii, 32-37. (This belief is against the general trend of teaching in the period covered here. It seems peculiar to these redactional sections and is presumably quite late.)
	Their general destruction accomplished by God. x, 7.	Hostility to oppressors.	General destruction of hostile nations. lxxii, 6 ff.	Complete destruction of hostile nations. Nothing is left of them but "dust of ashes and smell of smoke." B. xiii, 11.
Intermediate abode of souls of men and beasts. xlix, 2; lviii, 5, 6. Paradise, the final abode of the righteous, called the third heaven, occasionally the seventh heaven. Gehenna, the final abode of angels and mankind. A northern region of "savage darkness, and a gloomy fire for ever burning." x, 1, 2; xl; xlii; lxvii.	Gehenna, the final abode of wicked. "And thou (Israel) shalt look from on high, and shalt see thy enemies in Gehenna. And thou shalt recognise them and rejoice." x, 10.	Gehenna, the abode of wicked at death. x, 11, 15; xii, 12.	(1) Intermediate abode of all souls prior to final judgment. The righteous are in treasuries of Sheol. (2) The wicked in Sheol are in torment, yet at the final judgment are transferred to Gehenna for severer punishment. The righteous are transferred to heaven or Paradise. (After 70 A.D.) xxi, 23; xxiii, 5; xxx; li.	Sheol contrasted with heaven or Paradise. E. iv, 8. The souls of the wicked suffer eternal torment in Gehenna. No possible intercession by righteous for wicked avails. "Even as now a father may not send a son . . . that in his stead he may be ill, or sleep . . . so shall none then pray for another in that Day." E. vii, 62-74; 104-105. See also F. vii, 36.
	See Resurrection.	Synonymous with soul. vi, 29, 30.	Synonymous with soul. iii, 2, 3.	(1) Equivalent to soul. "Lo, I am yet weary in my soul, and very weak in my spirit." C. xii, 5.
Pre-existence of soul. xxiii, 5.		(1) Term for the character of a man, Eleazar, "a great-souled and noble man." vi, 5. (2) Designates the life after death. vi, 29, 30.	Used interchangeably with heart or mind, etc. "But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may obey the law. . . . And prepare your souls that ye may not depart from them." xlvi, 5.	(1) Capable of separate existence apart from the body. "As the soul from the body departs, that it may return to him who gave it." E. vii, 78. (2) Disembodied souls of wicked wander in torment until final judgment. E. vii, 80. (3) Disembodied souls of the righteous, "when they shall be separated from this vessel of mortality," rest under the guardianship of angels till final judgment. E. vii, 88-101.
Flesh which is evil is destroyed before the entrance of the soul into final abode. lxv, 10.				
	Death an eternal dying. x, 10.	Eternal life is communion with God. ix, 8; xv, 2; xvii, 5.	Strong belief in immortality. "For if there were this life only which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this." xxi, 12.	"Corruption is forgotten, sorrows are passed away, and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest." E. viii, 53, 54.
(1) Recording angels who write the deeds of men "before the Lord's face." (2) Angels in control of the stars, the seasons, etc. (3) Lustful angels are imprisoned under the earth, till the day of the great judgment. (4) Some rebellious angels are confined in the "second heaven," where they weep "incessantly through all hours." (5) Satan has his habitation in the air. iv-vii; xviii, 7; xix, 5; xxii, 8; xxix, 4, 5.	(1) Michael is Israel's guardian who will destroy all oppressors. x, 2. (2) Destruction of Satan at the commencement of kingdom. "And then Satan shall be no more. And sorrow shall depart with him." x, 1.	Existence of angels and demons. iv, 10; xviii, 8.	(1) The angel Ramiel interprets vision of Baruch. lv, 3. (2) Angels guard the inhabitants of Sheol. xxiii, 4. (3) Destruction of Jerusalem by the angels, "lest the enemy should boast." vii, 1. (4) Lustful angels tormented in chains. lvi, 13. (5) Recording angels. xxiv, 1. (Mainly after 70 A.D.)	Uriel and Ramiel speak to Salathiel. "Numberless armies of heaven." E. vi, 3.

CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY OF TABLES.

THE concepts classified in the foregoing chapter represent, in part, the changing religious thought of the Hebrews from the period of early prophecy down to the latter decades of the first century A.D. It has been customary to divide up this stretch of history into broad sections according to outstanding events constituting crises in the life of the nation. Such divisions may, from the standpoint of the Babylonian captivity be termed Pre-exilic and Post-exilic, or viewed from the transformation of religious outlook consequent upon exilic and Maccabæan developments be termed Prophetic and Apocalyptic. The former period, speaking generally, would embrace the two centuries antedating the exile, the exile itself, and the two centuries following. Its chief characteristics are the appeals of the great teachers for national repentance, the fundamental insistence upon the righteousness of Yahweh involving in turn the demand for the righteousness of his people, the certainty of judgment upon wrongdoers, the favor of Yahweh resulting from obedience, and almost universally the promise of a coming era of blessedness for the kingdom of Israel contingent upon its preparation in the hearts of men—a kingdom wherein all forms of

oppression would cease whether of the character of civic injustice or of foreign despotism.

The age of apocalyptic ranged from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. The name is applied to a special body of anonymous and pseudepigraphic literature which began with the rise of the Maccabees, followed the varied fortunes of that dynasty, and continued to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and even after. The transition from the prophetic to this form of literary activity was mediated through writings which probably were produced before the second century B.C., but appear as interpolated sections in the canonical books especially in Isaiah and Zechariah. Other prophecies as Ezekiel and Joel show decided affinities with this later type and undoubtedly prepared the way for it. While apocalyptic does not make an absolute break with its predecessors in Jewish literature, inasmuch as the forecasts of prophecy are taken as the basis for its own interpretation of the future, and as the same hopes for the ultimate triumph of the nation are common to both, yet the differences are many and important. The call of the prophet to repentance: his passionate denunciation of sin rampant within the life of his community, while present at times, was not the keynote of this new message. The attack became concentrated upon the heathen oppressor and the official priesthood—the abettors in the forced Hellenization of their own countrymen. No author placed his own signature to his work. The canon of prophecy had probably been completed

and the stamp of authority had to be created by the association of the message with a great name of the distant past. The form current was the vision—the machinery of Ezekiel rendered still more intricate. Attempts were made to fix precisely the date of the coming judgment with the overthrow of pagan enemies and apostates within the fold. Tyrants were described under the symbolism of wild beasts. The history of the world became mapped out into several divisions, and the writer regarded himself as living with the end in sight. The consummation of the kingdom as taught in prophecy was gradually transformed in character until the expectation included, not the land of Israel renewed and blessed but a transcendent and heavenly kingdom prepared afresh by God where the national idea was completely abandoned. Angelology became a constant feature. Speculation as to the nature of the soul, the life after death, the resurrection of the body, the punishment of the wicked, the reward of the righteous, grew with the progress of the literature. Behind it all was the deep-rooted conviction that the promises which Yahweh had made to his people through his servants, deferred indeed as they had been throughout many generations, yet were inviolable, and would receive their complete fruition at a time which was imminent. It is only necessary here to sum up briefly the characteristic beliefs, the development of which is traced in the foregoing classification.

The Day of Yahweh.

Whatever may have been the original meaning of the phrase, "The Day of Yahweh," it is evident that at the time in which Amos wrote it was construed by the popular imagination with favorable meaning. The reverse construction was placed upon it by the greater prophets, Amos leading the way with a vivid description of its terrifying character. It spelled disaster to Israel as well as to the other nations simply upon moral grounds. It was to be accompanied by fearful visitations in nature, by earthquake, darkness and tempest. The picture drawn in the second chapter of Isaiah seems to imply a world judgment with the vindication of Yahweh alone. Later, as seen in Zephaniah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel the destruction of immense foreign hordes invading Judah was comprehended in the general catastrophe. The Post-exilic writers exhibit a tendency to direct the brunt of the desolation upon the Gentile nations, returning somewhat to the earlier view. The second century with the introduction of apocalyptic widened the sweep of the judgment to the extreme limits, so that not only the world powers but also disobedient angels and demons were to fall before its blasts. The idea of a double judgment was developed—that which occurred at the deluge, and the final one yet to appear. The strange accompaniments seen in earlier pictures were still further elaborated. Fiery swords fall to the earth: cataclysms of rain and fire occur; the sun becomes quenched, the moon turned into blood; famine and earthquake—"The Woes of the Messiah," prelude the

end when the first earth and the first heaven pass away.

The Messianic Age.

The age so inaugurated was universally conceived as one of glory and triumph for the kingdom of Yahweh. The destruction of world empire would free Israel from the bondage and oppression to which she had been continuously subjected. In the vision of the prophets the change from the old order did not involve the removal of the scene of blessedness from the present earth. The land of Palestine was still to be inhabited; the Dispersed of Israel were to be restored from their exile, and united with the righteous remnant. Wonderful fertility would mark the soil; poverty and misery would become a condition of the past; Israel would "blossom as the lily and cast forth its roots like Lebanon." Even the animal world would be transformed, the peacefulness characteristic of the restored State being reflected in the harmony amongst the wild animals. National hopes centred in the political restoration and perpetuation of the Davidic line. At times the interest was focussed upon the importance of the Temple and the Priesthood as in the theoretical construction of Ezekiel; at times it was the free and unofficial worship of Yahweh with his law written on the heart as in Jeremiah which was foremost; in any case the vision was that of a theocracy in which the devoted service that Israel rendered to her national God was rewarded, according to the terms of the original covenant with his mercy and favor. This hope underwent

considerable transformation in later thought. Early apocalyptic, it is true, placed the scene of the new kingdom upon the present earth. Homes were still to be built and inhabited, vines planted and harvests reaped, but the age of the inhabitants was to be wonderfully increased. The last chapters of Isaiah furnished the description which was taken over by a number of writers notably of the second century B.C. The century following introduced remarkable developments. The establishment of the kingdom took place occasionally upon the earth after an inaugural judgment, but it was merely temporary and was to be superseded by a final judgment wherein the present order of things passed away, to be followed by an exalted and heavenly Israel the citizens of which were to become like the angels. This extreme position was reached mainly by the increasing sense of the irretrievably evil character of the natural world, by the disappointment of Messianic hopes and the longing for an existence where, in the words of Second Enoch, "all corruptible things shall vanish and there shall be eternal life."

The Messiah. The analysis showed that many of the prophets anticipated the coming of a king "out of the loins of David who, supremely endowed with the spirit of Yahweh, would reign in wisdom and in righteousness. The ninth chapter of Isaiah unfolds a striking delineation of his character, and the thirty-second represents him as governing his kingdom in association with princes sharing in the same functions. Jeremiah refers similarly to a

righteous "Branch raised unto David who shall reign as king and deal wisely," and he also refers to shepherds who shall feed the people "with knowledge and understanding." In Ezekiel, the allusion is to David the Prince, or to a number of princes ruling in succession upon the Davidic throne. And so in the case of Zerubbabel, when the first pre-exilic prophets attempted to stimulate national enthusiasm in the early days of the Restoration. While it is true that the hope of the future is scarcely ever expressed without relation to an ideal kingdom or commonwealth, yet a special doctrine of the Messiah is not a constant and integral constituent of the hope. If the "Servant passages" receive the construction now placed upon them by a large body of scholars, namely, that of an ideal kingdom rather than of an ideal king, the invariable presence of a Messiah-hope can be still less established. Many of the prophecies make no allusion at all to the Messiah as, for instance, Amos, Zephaniah, Joel, and the later eschatological additions in Isaiah. The great deliverance for the nation is generally the peculiar achievement of Yahweh himself. The same feature characterises the apocalyptic writings. The earliest strand of Enoch refers only to the presence of God with his people upon the earth, and it is probable that the much-discussed phrase in Daniel does not possess the individual interpretation sometimes ascribed to it. The Assumption of Moses, certain portions of Enoch, the First and Second Maccabees contain no such

references. On the other hand, prominence is given to the Messiah in the second section of Enoch where he appears under the symbolism of a white bull but, nevertheless, it is God who establishes the kingdom. Towards the close of the second century B.C. the expectation of a Messiah sprung from the tribe of Levi is seen in the Testaments and in Jubilees, evidently in respect to the Maccabæan leaders. The most specific references are in the Similitudes of Enoch of the first century B.C., where he is conceived as pre-existent and possessing the high functions of Judgeship in connection with the final judgment, but the whole scene is set in a supramundane sphere of activity. The first Christian century documents show similar variations. Most of the writings are silent upon the subject, though definite allusions are found in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra. In the earlier strands of the former work a Messiah is to reign in a temporary kingdom upon the earth. In 4 Ezra some early sections predict the coming of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses as a prelude to the end ushered in not by the Messiah, but by the "voice of God." Other passages still considered early give full descriptions of the "Son of Man" pre-existent and coming "in the clouds of heaven" to judge the world. Another section evidently showing traces of Christian redaction (according to Charles) alludes to the death of the Messiah after a reign of four hundred years upon earth. Such passages show the tendency of eschatological thought to vindicate the prophetic forecasts of the

Messianic kingdom by postulating a temporary rule of Yahweh upon earth varying in length with the views of individual writers. They also show, in the final displacement of the earthly kingdom by a heavenly one, how firmly rooted was the pessimism, seen at its acutest in the Alexandrian literature, as to the thoroughly corruptible character of the present world.

The advent of "The Age" was in the thought of the prophets close at hand. Usually it was to appear at the end of a crisis in which the nation **The Time.** was at the time involved; with the destruction of Assyria; with the Restoration from exile; with the completion of the Temple building; or with the fall of the Persian Empire. Not the least change in the transition from prophecy to apocalyptic are the novel methods adopted to determine with precision the date. The seventy years of Jeremiah were, in the prediction of Daniel, interpreted by the angel as seventy weeks of years from the exile, with the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes taking place in the last week. It was to come with the Maccabæan success, or later with the destruction of the Roman Empire. Wherever two judgments were declared the interval between constituted the Messianic age. Its duration was calculated as five hundred years, or as seventy generations, or again as three world weeks, that is, from the eighth week to the tenth inclusive, of a series of ten weeks comprising the history of the world. In II Enoch the millennial idea is expressed in that, the world already having

completed the span of six thousand years, the Messianic age would stretch through another period of one thousand years before the final judgment.

The Gentiles.

The attitude towards the Gentiles assumes various phases determined by the changing relationship of the Jew with the outside world, and by the character of the prophets. The rarer view is the broad cosmopolitan outlook voiced by such men as Amos, the First and Second Isaiahs, Jeremiah, Malachi and Jonah. Here the promises of the kingdom are extended far beyond Hebrew limits, and in some of the noblest utterances the outlook is not qualified by the thought of Gentile subjection after conversion. With other writers the nations are to share in Israel's future, but their position is one of servility, and whatever concession is granted, it is made to depend upon the Gentile acceptance of Jewish observances. Again, the expectation is one of their general destruction especially of hostile nations as seen in Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah. In apocalyptic the same viewpoints are expressed, Enoch 1-36 taking the broad ground of the first, and followed by the Testaments. But the prevalent disposition is one of extreme antagonism, the Similitudes refusing to consider the conversion of the Gentiles, notwithstanding the possibility of their repentance. The Psalms of Solomon allow the repentant nations the chance of survival at the advent of the Messiah, but they become subject to his heavy yoke. In the latter writings of the first century

A.D. the hatred has become so fierce that the judgment leaves nothing to them but "dust of ashes and smell of smoke."

But one of the main dividing lines between prophecy and apocalyptic is that whereas, in the former, the doctrine of the resurrection, whether bodily or pneumatic, found practically no place, it became, in the latter, an invariable feature. In the Messianic kingdom of the prophets, the inhabitants after living long lives departed into the abode of Sheol. Indications of an individual bodily resurrection appear first in Isaiah 24-27, where the author takes pains to state that such a privilege is restricted to righteous Israelites, and this is the general tendency throughout the second century B.C., though occasionally, and with qualification, the resurrection of the wicked is admitted. The first century B.C., except in one instance, denied the resurrection of the body but affirmed it of the righteous spirit. The first century A.D. follows practically the same teaching—apart from the Alexandrian literature which postulates only the immortality of the spirit—until toward the close appeared the belief in a general resurrection of the bodily form. **The Resurrection.**

Concurrently with this belief there grew up a body of speculation regarding the nature of Sheol. From its being the great underworld where the dead lay practically without any of the distinctions that characterise the living, it became, in Palestinian thought, an intermediate state containing chambers or treasuries for the souls or spirits of **Sheol.** **Soul.**

the departed, from which the righteous rose either to Paradise or to Heaven. At other times it was the final abode of punishment for the wicked, and synonymous with Gehenna. The departed are designated as souls or spirits, these terms being interchangeable. Righteous souls were to enjoy eternal felicity, the wicked, eternal anguish.

Spirit.

Angelology.

A highly developed Angelology and Demonology is prevalent throughout apocalyptic. The righteous after the resurrection take on the likeness of good angels, whereas the wicked, the fallen angels and demons suffer the same ultimate condemnation.

CHAPTER III.

CONJECTURAL OUTLINE OF PAUL'S LIFE AND THE ORDER OF THE EPISTLES.

Events.	Dates.	Authorities.
Conversion..................	34-36	Zahn, Turner, Weiss, Findlay, Jülicher, Sabatier, Burton. (Harnack, Moffatt = 30.) (Ramsay = 33.)
In Arabia, three years.	35 (36)-38 (39)	
First visit to Jerusalem. (Visit of fifteen days with Peter).	38 (39)	
In Cilicia and Antioch.....To	45	
Second visit to Jerusalem. (Collection for the Poor)..	46	Turner, Ramsay, Bartlet. (Lightfoot = 45.) (Zahn = 44.)
(i) Missionary Journey...... (Cyprus, Pisidia, Lycaonia.)	47-49	Turner, Ramsay, Lightfoot, Moffatt.
The Council at Jerusalem. (Third visit to Jerusalem) ..	50	Ramsay = 50. Lightfoot, Burton = 51. Sabatier = 52. Harnack = 47. Turner, Moffatt, Findlay, Bartlet = 49.
(ii) Missionary Journey......	51-53	Zahn, Ramsay, Lightfoot, Jülicher, Weiss, Drummond, agree in the main. (Harnack = 47-49.) (Turner = 49-50.)
1. Thessalonians— (At Corinth).........	53	Zahn, May (1).
2. Thessalonians— (At Corinth).........	53	Zahn, September (2).
Fourth visit to Jerusalem...	53	Ramsay, Spring of 53.
(iii) Missionary Journey— (Asia Minor to Ephesus, thence to Macedonia and Corinth).............	54-58	Zahn, Ramsay, Lightfoot, Findlay, Sabatier, agree in the main. (Moffatt = 52-56.)
Galatians— (Possibly during early part of residence at Ephesus)	54	Priority of Galatians to the other three epistles generally accepted.
I Corinthians— (Towards close of visit to Ephesus)............	57	Scheme in bracket observed by Sabatier, Jülicher, Sanday and Headlam, Drummond, Moffatt.
II Corinthians— (Probably after departure from Ephesus)	57	Some place Galatians between the Corinthian epistles and Romans; e.g., Lightfoot, Findlay, Adeney.
Romans— (Probably at Corinth)....	58	
Fifth visit to Jerusalem. (Arrested in Temple)..	58	

South Galatian theory accepted.

Imprisonment at Caesarea..	58-60	Zahn, Ramsay, Clemen, Lightfoot, substantially in agreement.
Journey to Rome............	61	Zahn, Sabatier, Burton, Lightfoot. (Harnack = 57.) (Findlay = 60.) (Ramsay = 60.) (Jülicher = 62.) (Weiss = 62.)
In Roman Captivity..........	61-63	Zahn, Sabatier, Burton, Lightfoot. (Harnack = 57.) (Findlay = 60.) (Ramsay = 60.) (Jülicher = 62.) (Weiss = 62.)
Imprisonment Epistles— Colossians. Philemon. Ephesians. Philippians.		Order usually assigned. "Colossians is certainly to be placed before Ephesians (when the last named is taken as genuine) though priority here carries with it very little significance. Both letters were written about the same time."—Moffatt, "Historical New Testament," p. 131. Lightfoot placed Philippians first, though he admits that the reverse order "is the prevailing view among the vast majority of recent writers."—Philippians, p. 32.
Death of Paul..............	63-64	Jülicher, Harnack, O. Holtzmann. (Turner = 64-65.) (Burton = 65.) (McGiffert = 58.) (Lightfoot, Ramsay, Findlay = 67.)

Hypothesis of a release from imprisonment, together with that of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, not very strongly supported.

The following works of reference have been used amongst others as the main sources of Historical Introduction:—New Testament Introductions of Zahn, Jülicher, Findlay, Adeney; L'Apôtre Paul, Sabatier; Luke, Acts, Harnack; Apostolic Age, McGiffert; St. Paul, The Traveller, Ramsay; Epistles, Lightfoot; Article, Chronology, H. B. D. Turner; Romans, Sanday and Headlam; Epistles, Milligan; and particularly Moffatt's "Historical New Testament," for comparative tables of Chronology.

CHAPTER IV.

PAUL'S GENERAL USE OF THE CONCEPTS: SPIRIT, SOUL, FLESH, BODY, ETC.

To understand the position of Paul with regard to the foregoing system of concepts known as soul (ψυχή), spirit (πνεῦμα), flesh (σάρξ), body (σῶμα), and others of like character, it would be well as a point of departure to review in brief the teachings of the great sources to which he had access, viz., the Old Testament and the Post-Canonical writings. This itself is a task of some difficulty as the passages in which these words occur do not always admit of clear-cut interpretation. Nephesh and Ruach (נפשׁ, רוח) designating soul and spirit, are constantly being used in the Old Testament in a loose and popular sense, the easy transition from one to the other making it almost impossible to mark out any sharp boundaries of meaning. The nephesh is described as being the subject of hate and aversion (Isaiah i, 14); of fear and trembling (His soul trembleth within him—Isaiah xv, 4); of delight and joy (Behold, my chosen in whom my soul delighteth—Isaiah xlii, 1); of pity and compassion (That which your soul pitieth—Ezekiel xxiv, 21); of comfort and satisfaction (Psalm lxxvii, 2-6); of longing and desire (Job xxiii, 13); of

Old Testament use of Nephesh.

vexation (And the Almighty who hath vexed my soul—Job xxvii, 2); of loathing and disgust (Zechariah xi, 8). Here ostensibly the ascriptions are respecting emotional attributes of the soul, but both physical and moral appetites are predicated of it. "And it shall be as when a hungry man dreameth; and behold he eateth, but he awaketh and his soul is empty. Or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold he drinketh but he awaketh and behold he is faint" (Isaiah xxix, 8). See Micah vii, 1-3; Isaiah v, 14; and Jeremiah xxxi, 25—"For I have satiated the weary soul, and every sorrowful soul have I replenished." Also Proverbs xxv, 25—"As cold water to a thirsty soul so is good news from a far country." The term may likewise stand for the physical life of the organism; it may indicate the life of the nation personified, and expressed by the reflexive pronoun. "Backsliding Israel hath showed herself (נפשה) more righteous than treacherous Judah" (Jeremiah iii, 11). It may broadly represent a large number of individuals in a collective sense, "eight hundred and thirty persons" (נפש Jeremiah lii, 29); "every living creature" (נפש-כל Ezekiel xlvii, 9).[1] Further, it is identified with the blood and hence with the heart and the life. "To shed blood, to destroy souls" (Ezekiel xxii, 27).

The emotions.

Physical and Moral Appetites.

Individual and Collective sense.

But nearly all these qualities may be similarly ascribed to the ruach. The emotions of distress,

[1] Cf. Genesis xlvi, 18 (The sixteen sons of Jacob are sixteen souls).

fear and pity may belong indifferently to the soul, heart or spirit even in the same writer. "And every heart shall melt, . . . and every spirit shall faint" (Ezekiel xxi, 7). "That which your soul pitieth" (Ezekiel xxiv, 21). "And they shall weep for thee in bitterness of soul with bitter mourning" (Ezekiel xxvii, 31). "Joy of heart and despite of soul" (Ezekiel xxxvi, 5). The ethical change from rebellion against Yahweh's commandments to devotion to his service is expressed in the famous passage of Ezekiel xi, 19, "And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit in you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and I will give them a heart of flesh." So Isaiah liv, 6, "Grieved in spirit"; and the following references:—"They have quieted my spirit." "Spirit of heaviness." "For the spirit would faint before me, and the souls that I have made." "With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee earnestly." Zechariah vi, 8; Isaiah lxv, 14; Isaiah lvii, 16; xxvi, 9. Notice Job's expression of his grief and pain:—"I will speak in the anguish of my spirit; I will complain in the bitterness of my soul" (vii, 11). Dejection, discomfort, and misery are attributed in the same way; "A glad heart maketh a cheerful countenance, but by sorrow of heart the spirit is broken" (Proverbs xv, 13). "For the enemy hath persecuted my soul; He hath smitten my life down to the ground. Therefore is my spirit

Old Testament use of Ruach.

Its general interchangeability with Nephesh.

overwhelmed within me; My heart is desolate within me" (Psalm cxliii, 3, 4). A further examination of the passages given in the analysis reveals the easy interchangeability of usage which, as far as the feelings are concerned, allow of no rigid dichotomy of soul and spirit. This applies also to the chronological development of the religious thought of the nation. The later writers, as well as the earlier, use the same terms with practically the same emotional content, with this difference, however, that unusual intensities of feeling came to be regarded pre-eminently as the properties of the ruach, while the ordinary states manifested in the daily round of life belonged to the nephesh, although here the distinction is not absolute.

Unusual intensities of feeling; and intellectual and volitional states ascribed to ruach.

It is on the intellectual and volitional side that the contrast between nephesh and ruach is best exhibited, for these belong mainly to the sphere of the ruach.. The deliberate refusal of the prophet's message by his countrymen is designated as a ruach of perverseness (Isaiah xix, 14). False prophets or men guided by them are actuated by a ruach of falsehood (Micah ii, 11; Jeremiah v, 13). It is the term used for the wind, the east wind, and the ethical transference is then made to the shallow utterances of unthinking people.[1]

While nephesh was in common use to indicate an individual in the most complete sense, that is

[1] Ezekiel xxxvii, 9. Zechariah vi, 5. Job vi, 26; xvi, 3. Ecclesiastes i, 14; ii, 2.

to say, with the significance attached to the personal pronouns,[1] I, thou, etc., ruach is not so employed. "My ruach" was not used as an equivalent for "my nephesh."[2] And in the case of people taken collectively, nephesh is the term. No definite and unambiguous examples can be found where ruach designates the life of the organism. But there are instances where the nephesh is somehow regarded as being the result of the ruach especially the Ruach of Yahweh, which, as soon as the latter departs, the human ruach becomes extinct. The nearest approximation of ruach to nephesh in this sense may perhaps be seen in such statements as Ecclesiastes iii, 19, and Psalm cxlvi, 4. "As the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they all have one breath, and man hath no pre-eminence over the beast." "His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth," where man and beast were represented as having a unitary basis. But with a few apparent exceptions such as these, it may be claimed that the use of nephesh to designate the organic life of an individual in the widest sense[3] forms the main basis of differentiation from that of ruach.

Ruach not used like nephesh for the individual.

As life then depends upon the presence of either the nephesh (occasionally néshama) or the ruach, so death, conversely, is the result of the departure of either. "And it came to pass, as her nephesh was departing, for she died, that she called

[1] Schultz, O. T. Theol., vol. ii, p. 247.
[2] Charles, Eschatology, p. 38.
[3] Koeberle, Natur und Geist, p. 202 ff.

his name Benoni" (Genesis xxxv, 18). "Let this child's nephesh come unto him again" (I Kings xvii, 21); "He (God) that giveth breath (néshama) unto the people upon it (the earth), and ruach to them that walk therein" (Isaiah xlii, 5).[1]

Neither term is applied to the existence of the individual after death wherever such a view is held. Two conceptions are to be seen in Hebrew thought, first, an older and popular view, which attributed to the departed a certain degree of vitality and knowledge, and a later one which tended to reduce this activity to a very low ebb if it did not deny it altogether.[2] Wherever the former is in evidence, such terms as ידעונים (the knowing ones), רפאים (shades) are used.

Synonymous usage in apocalyptic literature.

In the apocalyptic literature little development in this direction is seen as far as the emotional and intellectual life is concerned. The main result has been to make the terms more synonymous than ever. Feelings such as grief and pain as well as the qualities of wisdom and understanding belong to the spirit.[3] The ethical sense of a "spirit of righteousness" is common,[4] as also the identification of the soul with the blood, or with the heart, or with the strength.[5] The spirit faints

[1] Ezekiel xxxvii, 5. Job xxxiii, 4; xxxiv, 14. Ecclesiastes xii, 7.

[2] Biblical World, L. B. Paton, Article, xxxv, No. 4, Ap. 1910.

[3] Daniel v, 10-13; vi, 3; vii, 15.

[4] Jubilees xxv, 14.

[5] Jubilees xxi, 2; 2 Baruch xlvi, 5.

and the soul is humbled.[1] Either the spirit or the soul is roused to action,[2] is hardened or is broken.[3] The principal contributions, which this Greek period[4] has furnished, lie in the direction of speculations regarding the soul or spirit after death, or the nature of angels and demons; a phase of the discussion which will be treated later. One distinction alone may be traced in the employment of the terms, namely, that spirit and never soul[5] is the designation of angels and demons, while to describe the human being in his post-earthly state both terms are freely interchangeable. No dichotomy of soul and spirit can be discovered, except perhaps in two or three passages[6] which seem to stand out in the general mass of the literature as exemplifying a new current of speculative thought with which the Hebrew literature has very little in common.

Spirit applied to angels and demons.

Turning now to the use of these concepts and their corresponding terms by Paul, the passages in which the term, psyche, occurs yield in certain cases the same meaning as already indicated. It is used as a strong expression of affection for his Thessalonian converts for whose well-being Paul

Paul's treatment.

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[1] Judith iv, 9; vii, 19.

[2] Macc. xv, 10, 17.

[3] Zadokite Fragment iv, 6.

[4] For the widespread belief throughout the Greek world of the nature of the soul after its separation from the body, and its bearing upon the question of immortality in connection with Mystery ritual, see Rohde, Psyche, i, p. 294 ff.

[5] This does not apply to Philo's usage; see references.

[6] Tobit iii, 6; 1 Baruch ii, 17; 2 Macc. vii. 22, 23.

would spend himself "in labor and travail, night and day." "Even so, being affectionately desirous of you, we were well pleased to impart unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls (**τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς**), because ye were become very dear to us" (I Thessalonians ii, 8). It is used to give additional weight to his affirmations when he wishes to convince his readers that his interest in their welfare is genuine. "But I call God for a witness upon my soul[1] that to spare you, I forbore to come to Corinth" (II Corinthians i, 23). Once, it is used to sum up their religious life in general. "And I will gladly spend and be spent for your souls" (II Corinthians xii, 15). It is scarcely correct to say, with Charles, that Paul "never speaks, as almost all the other writers of the New Testament do, of the salvation of the soul, save in one instance, as in his first epistle" (I Thessalonians v, 23).[2] "While, indeed, the predominant usage is to regard salvation as the final goal of the pneuma, yet the distinction is not so fixed that eternal interests may not likewise belong to the psyche. It seems likely that here in this case, the phrase "for your souls" (**ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν**), simply is the equivalent for "for your lives, for your sakes, for your comfort, for your salvation." Compare II Corinthians i, 6, "But

Psyche an expression for the emotions.

[1] His most usual affirmations lack this expressive phrase (ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν). Compare I Thessalonians ii, 5, "God is my witness"; Galatians i, 20, "Before God I lie not"; Philippians i, 8, "For God is my witness, how I long after you."

[2] Charles, Eschat., p. 410.

whether we are afflicted, it is for your comfort"; Romans ix, 3, "For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake"; Philippians ii, 17, "Yea, and if I am offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith I joy." Further, the emotions of distress and pain are attributed to the psyche. "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that worketh evil" (Romans ii, 9). It stands for the life of the organism here upon earth, and this, as in the Old Testament, is its most general use in Paul. The enemies that persecuted Elijah sought to destroy his psyche (translated by life).[1]

The physical life.

Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life (psyche) laid down their very necks" (Romans xvi, 3). Epaphroditus is commended to the Church at Philippi because "for the work of Christ he came nigh unto death, hazarding his life" (psyche), (Philippians ii, 30). It is used collectively; "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers" (Romans xiii, 1). It expresses the state of steady determination and united action in Philippians i, 27; "Only let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you or be absent, I may hear of your state, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one soul striving for the faith of the gospel."

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[1] Romans xi, 3, 4.

N.B.—The transliterations, pneuma, psyche, will now be used generally for spirit and soul.

Paul's use of the word, heart (ἡ καρδία), corresponds in some respects to that of psyche. On the emotional side both are practically identical. The former expresses the solicitude of Titus for the church at Corinth. "But thanks be to God who putteth the same earnest care for you in the heart of Titus" (II Corinthians viii, 16). It expresses also sorrow and pain; "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart" (Romans ix, 1, 2); and also comfort, peace, joy and love; "That their hearts may be comforted" (Colossians ii, 2); "And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts" (Colossians iii, 15); "Whom (Tychicus) I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts" (Colossians iv, 8); "Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord" (Ephesians v, 19); "Because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through thee, brother" (Philemon i, 7); "I beseech thee for my child, . . . Onesimus, . . . whom I have sent back to thee in his own person, that is, my very heart" (i, 10, 11, 12); "Yea brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord, refresh my heart in Christ" (i, 20).

Heart and psyche have same emotional content.

Similar content ascribed to the pneuma, sarx and nous.

Such states are also ascribed to the pneuma, and occasionally to the sarx and the nous (σάρξ, νοῦς). The fears of the Thessalonians concerning the immediate approach of the Parousia are quieted with the message of a longer intervening period

than they anticipated. "To the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind (ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς), nor yet be troubled either by spirit (διὰ πνεύματος), or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is just at hand" (II Thessalonians ii, 2). The emotions of love, gentleness, and such like belong to the heart or to the pneuma indifferently. "Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love and a pneuma of gentleness?" (I Corinthians iv, 21). Persecutions in Macedonia elicited the statement:—"For even when we were come into Macedonia our sarx had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side" (II Corinthians vii, 5). Conditions such as despondency, or depression, the result of the non-attainment of a desired object are states of the pneuma. "I had no relief for my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother" (II Corinthians ii, 13). So are states of joy, comfort and happiness consequent upon the receipt of good tidings, or upon meeting with friends. "In our comfort we joyed the more exceedingly for the joy of Titus, because his spirit hath been refreshed by you all" (II Corinthians vii, 13). Purpose, singleness of aim, determined effort, steadfastness of faith, and such like processes are variously indicated. "To the end that he may establish your hearts (τὰς καρδίας) unblameable in holiness" (I Thessalonians iii, 13); "But he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power as touching his will (θελήματος), and hath determined this in his own heart" (I Cor-

inthians vii, 37); "Let each man do according as he hath purposed in his heart" (II Corinthians ix, 7); "Not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart" (Colossians iii, 22); "That ye stand fast in one spirit, with one soul striving for the faith of the gospel" (Philippians i, 27).[1]

Psyche stands for the individual generally, and is used less of the special intellectual and volitional processes.

Thus far the coincidence of usage may be seen in these leading terms of Paul, and it is in harmony with the thought of contemporary Judaism.[2] To express the emotional phases of human life; psyche, pneuma, kardia seem to be perfectly interchangeable. The first term, however, unlike kardia or pneuma is always at hand to designate an individual in the comprehensive sense of a member of a community, or as a citizen of a state. While on the intellectual and volitional side as these processes are operative in religious life, psyche has little characteristic application, it is just here, where the chief significance lies for the other concepts, and also where the difficulty of reaching distinctions becomes greatest. The processes of knowledge, of judgment, of conviction belong to the kardia, as they do to the pneuma, as again they do to the conscience (*συνείδησις*), or to the thoughts (*λογισμόι*). In many late Stoic writings as those of Plutarch and Epictetus, psyche stands for the highest and noblest capacities, and herein differs from the rather restricted usage of

[1] Cf. Acts xix, 21, "Now after these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, . . . to go to Jerusalem."
[2] Toy, Judaism and Christianity, p. 180.

the apostle.[1] But still the following instances, in the Pauline letters, show how easily in certain cases one term might be substituted for the other without violence to the meaning. In the argument of Romans, Paul shows that the Gentile world although without the codified Hebrew statues, yet showed "The work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts with one another accusing or else excusing them" (ii, 15). "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach" (x, 8). It is the lust of the heart that bringeth the body into dishonor (i, 24). It is the heart, hardened and impenitent, that treasurest up for itself "wrath in the day of wrath" (ii, 5). It becomes subject to defilement, deceit and blindness (xvi, 18). So also may the conscience, pneuma, nous and thoughts. The conscience of the weak Corinthian who eats as of a thing sacrificed to idols is defiled (I Corinthians viii, 7). "In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving" (II Corinthians iv, 4). "But I fear lest your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ" (II Corinthians xi, 3); "But became vain in their reasonings (διαλογισμοῖς) and their senseless heart was darkened" (Romans i, 21); "God gave them up to a spirit of stupor" (Romans xi, 8).

[1] American Journal of Theology, Burton, Article, Spirit, Soul and Flesh, July, 1916, p. 396.

On the other hand, the entrance upon the new life in Christ, is a condition of kardia, or of pneuma or of nous. "Seeing it is God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts" (II Corinthians iv, 6); "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" (Ephesians iii, 17); "The new circumcision not of the letter of the law, is that of the heart, in the spirit" (Romans ii, 29). Other ways of expressing the same contrast are by such phrases as:—"Our old man" (*ὁ παλαιός ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος* Romans vi, 6); "outwardly" (*ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*); "inwardly" (*ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ* ii, 28 f.); "the new man" (*τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον* Ephesians iv, 23 f.); "the inward man" (*ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἔσω*, II Corinthians iv, 16; Romans vii, 22; Ephesians iii, 16). The contrast is identical with that of the "spirit and letter" (Romans vii, 6); of "men-pleasers and God-pleasers" (Colossians iii, 22); of "eye-service and singleness of heart" (Colossians iii, 22; Ephesians vi, 6); of "in appearance and not in heart" (II Corinthians v, 12).

Various expressions for the "old" and the "new" life.

It is the pneuma which pronounces sentence upon the wrong-doer in the church at Corinth. "For I verily being absent in body, but present in spirit, have already as though I were present judged him that hath so wrought this thing" (I Corinthians v, 3). It is the *πνευματικός* man who is supposed to understand the apostle's message. "If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him take knowledge of the things I write unto you" (I Corinthians xiv, 37).

But "the truth" may also be verified by the conscience. "But by the manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God" (II Corinthians iv, 2); "I hope that we are made manifest also in your consciences" (II Corinthians v, 11); "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Spirit" (Romans ix, 1, 2). How easily the terms are convertible may be seen by contrasting the above statement of I Corinthians v, 3 with I Thessalonians ii, 17, "But we, brethren, being bereaved of you for a short season, in presence not in heart, endeavored the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire."

Occasionally a distinction is drawn between pneuma and nous, as in I Corinthians xiv, where, in his discourse upon the glossalalia, Paul speaks of the understanding (nous) being unfruitful while the pneuma prayeth in a tongue. But this is rather a reflection of the popular view of the pneuma which, in the opinion of a large number of commentators, connected it with ecstatic syllables carrying little if any intelligibility with them. The following verses indicate Paul's correction of the use to which speech was too often put, by substituting for frenzied utterances in prayer and song, a language that possessed some meaning for the hearers. In that case a message in the pneuma became a message in the nous or understanding.

Religious belief together with the intellectual processes involved, predicated of the kardia.

Intellectual processes, then, are predicated of the human pneuma as well as of the nous and the kardia. "For who among men knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him" (I Corinthians ii, 11). "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ may give you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him, having the eyes of your heart enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling" (Ephesians i, 17, 18). Belief is stated to be a preeminent characteristic of the kardia in the sense of the religious process underlying verbal confession. "Because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord and shalt believe in thy heart, that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved, for with the heart man believeth" (Romans x, 9, 10).

It may thus be seen that the attempt to find rigid categories in the thought of Paul must meet with failure. Just as in the Old Testament, in the apocryphal literature, and in the non-Pauline portion of the New Testament, the terms merge into each other[1] in respect to their meaning, leaving only a vague impression in the mind of the investigator that as far as the numerical value of cases is concerned, some states emotional, intellectual, and volitional are more often predicated of certain concepts than of others, so, in these epistles, no trichotomy is disclosed at least at this stage of the inquiry. The most comprehensive term used

[1] "All distinctions between ψυχή and πνεῦμα in the sense of a trichotomy, such as Delitszch has adopted, are arbitrary." Weiss, Bib. Theology, vol. i, p. 124.

is kardia, for practically all states are ascribed to it, and to a slightly less extent, does this apply to the pneuma; the nous wherever used is generally a concept for the intellectual side of life; the conscience denoting characteristically the moral operation involved in criticism upon points arousing ritual and ceremonial debate, while the psyche, in so far as it is applied outside the field covered by the other terms, denotes the individual in the complete sense without emphasis upon his special characteristics.[1]

But there is a large group of passages not yet considered where it is claimed that Paul has placed a stamp peculiarly his own upon the terms, pneuma, sarx and soma (σῶμα) and that this comes into prominence whenever such terms are found in juxtaposition and in contrast. With regard to the latter two, it might be pointed out that where they do not directly enter into the discussion of pneuma, they show very little divergence from current usage. The sarx has still its generic application to mankind. "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Galatians ii, 16); "And the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose, . . . that he might bring to nought the things that are, that no flesh should glory before God" (I Corinthians i, 28, 29).[2] It represents the individual's life upon the earth without any distinct ethical implications. "For I

Generic application of sarx.

The earthly life.

[1] For the eschatological usage, see next chapter.

[2] Galatians i, 16; Romans iii, 20.

would have you know how greatly I strive for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh" (Colossians ii, 1); "Yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake" (Philippians i, 24). It is equivalent, as shown above, to psyche with respect to the emotions of anxiety, tribulation, suspense, relief, etc. (I Corinthians vii, 28; II Corinthians vii, 5).

Equivalent to psyche to designate emotions.

The term, soma, may be easily substituted for sarx in some of the above senses as is seen by many examples:—"For I verily being absent in body but present in spirit" (I Corinthians v, 3); "For though I am absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in spirit" (Colossians ii, 5); "Know ye not that he that is joined to a harlot is one body, for the twain, saith he, shall become one flesh" (I Corinthians vi, 16); "Even so ought husbands also to love their own wives as their own bodies. For no man ever hateth his own flesh" (Ephesians v, 28, 29); "Always bearing about in my body the dying of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body. . . . That the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (II Corinthians iv, 10, 11). The earthly existence, expressed in Philippians i, 24, as a life in the sarx, is in II Corinthians v, 10, a life in the soma. "That each may receive the things done in the body, . . . whether it be good or bad."[1]

Throughout the sixth and the eighth chapters of Romans this interchangeability is in evidence in

[1] Beyschlag, N. T. Theology, vol. ii, p. 31, E. T.

several places. The phrase may be either σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, or σάρξ ἁμαρτίας indifferently (vi, 6; viii, 3). Nevertheless, as identical in meaning as the two terms are in a given number of applications, a preponderance of usage might occasionally serve to furnish a distinction, and there is a large number of instances to show that soma, more readily than any other term, suits the idea of an organism, for when the organic character of the church is shown by relating it to its many members, or when the apostle discusses the relation of Christians to Christ, their living Head, it is this term which is applied.[1] It may also be distinguished from sarx in that while soma may apply to an organism, it does not specifically connote humanity in the wide sense, and yet its range is broader inasmuch as it covers inanimate objects as well as animate, as in the contrast between terrestrial and celestial σώματα.[2]

The organic idea, the special sense of soma.

Once again, there is the ethnic signification of sarx which differentiates it from all the other

[1] I Corinthians vi, 15; 12 f; Romans xii, 4; Colossians i, 18, 24; ii, 19; Ephesians i, 23; iii, 6; iv, 4 f; v, 30.

[2] "In classical Greek, slaves were called σώματα οἰκετικά or δοῦλα. σῶμα alone—without any such addition—is not found used for slave earlier than in LXX Genesis xxxiv, 29 (xxxvi, 6); Tobit x, 10; Bel and the Dragon, ... The Greek translators of the Old Testament found the usage in Egypt; the Papyri of the Ptolemaic period yield a large number of examples." Deissmann, Bib. Studies, p. 160.

Note.—Non-Pauline usage of soma may include dead bodies as well as living. "Where the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together" (Luke xvii, 37). "And he boldly went in unto Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus" (Mark xv, 43). "For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the Holy Place by the High Priest as an offering for sin are burned without the camp" (Hebrews xiii, 11).

terms in question. In the second epistle to the church of Corinth Paul vindicates the boldness with which he speaks by insisting upon his Hebrew descent. "Seeing that many glory after the sarx I will glory also. Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I." (II Corinthians xi, 11-22.) Evidently, his glory (**κατὰ σάρκα**) need imply nothing more than a racial pride in his lineal connection with the traditional founder of the Hebrew race. Compare also the passages where the phrase has just this national significance: "Concerning his Son who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Romans i, 3); "Whose (the Israelites) are the fathers, and of whom is Christ according to the flesh" (Romans ix, 5); "If by any means I may provoke to jealousy them that are my flesh, and may save some of them" (xi, 14).[1] There is also the social relation of master and servant (**κατὰ σάρκα**), a relation held sacred by Paul. "Servants, obey in all things them that are your masters according to the flesh" (Colossians iii, 22).

It is not here but in an entirely different relation that the apostle makes a broad line of departure from strictly Jewish tradition, and has invested the terms with a signification which might properly bear the title of Pauline. The term sarx, has now, apparently for the first time, a characteristic ascribed to it so pronounced that its other

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[1] II Corinthians v, 16; Romans ix, 8; Philippians iii, 4.

meanings become all but submerged, and its constant juxtaposition to the term, pneuma, opens up a new and wide field of inquiry. It has been customary amongst a large number of scholars, e.g., Pfleiderer, Holsten, Heinrici,[1] to regard Paul in the light of an exponent of a dualistic theory of sarx (or soma) and pneuma, in which the former is held as a principle necessarily evil, and the latter as essentially good. The school of Alexandrian Judaism were the classic representatives of this ancient theory as seen in their chief literary products, namely, the Book of Wisdom, the Writings of Philo, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, and the Fourth Maccabees.[2] There are indeed certain phases of their teaching which tend to soften down the extreme character of this dualism wherein the body is regarded as a kind of a passive obstacle in the way of the flight of the pneuma. The Wisdom of Solomon has a few passages which would place the resistance of the sarx or senses within such limits, where, as Drummond says, "the body is not represented as the active source of sin but only as the passive check upon the higher aspirations."[3] But the general tendency is to make the separation between the soma and the pneuma sharp and uncompromising. Deliverance from the soma consisted rather in a release of the psyche by death as from a prison house, than in a conquest of the soma while present upon earth.

Dualism of sarx and pneuma attributed to Paul.

The Alexandrian literature.

[1] Schweitzer, Paul, p. 63. E.T. Pfleiderer, Paulinism, vol. 1, p. 51. E.T. Sabatier, L'apôtre Paul, p. 249 f.

[2] See Tables.

[3] Philo Judæus, vol. i, p. 202.

"The body is by nature evil and plots against the soul. It is dead so that each one of us carries a corpse."[1] Numerous passages attest the eternally evil character of sarx and soma.[2, 3] The resurrection of the sarx is denied by all the above writers. In only one of the works namely, the Slavonic Enoch, is the resurrection of the soma admitted though even here the description given of such a body is so vague and intangible that it is quite impossible to frame a picture of what it is like. It is a body composed of the Divine glory. "And the Lord said to Michael, 'Go and take from Enoch his earthly robe and anoint him with my Holy Oil, and clothe him with the raiment of my glory.' And Michael did as the Lord spake unto him. He anointed and clothed me, and the appearance of that oil was more than a great light, and its anointing was like excellent dew."[4]

Evidence against such dualism.

If this more dominant phase of Alexandrianism is taken to represent the dualism in general, then it must be concluded that whatever antithesis is taught by Paul as existing between sarx and pneuma, it, at least, cannot be of this character. If it be granted for the present that a principle of evil is operative in the Pauline sarx, then the most emphatic of Paul's statements used so much as a buttress of extreme dualism, namely, "For I

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[1] Ibid, p. 23.

[2] See Philo and Wisdom in Tables.

[3] "It is essentially evil, and an ineradicably evil nature attaches to the human body. The soul pre-exists and finds in the body a temporary prison house." Charles, Eschatology, p. 255.

[4] xxii, 8-10.

know that in me, i.e., in my sarx dwelleth no good thing," only proves that at present the principle of good is not working in the sarx; it does not prove that such an operation may not yet be introduced (Romans vii, 18). Allow that two such principles are at work, and it can be clearly shown in the chapter preceding the one in which this declaration is set, that the sarx may become the centre of right action as well as of evil. The reformation of the sarx is constantly taught and enjoined. Evidence of that is in Paul's appeal to the church at Rome that whereas they had presented their members as servants to uncleanness they should now present them as servants to righteousness (Romans vi, 19; xii, 1). "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies, that ye should obey the lusts thereof" (Romans vi, 12); "For sin shall not have dominion over you" (Romans vi, 14). That such an emancipation is not merely a theoretical possibility, but in the view of the apostle, is an actual fact of life, is seen in the following part of the same chapter. "But thanks be to God that whereas ye were servants to sin, ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered, and being made free from sin ye became servants of righteousness" (Romans vi, 17, 18). The life upon earth in the sarx may be a life in Christ. "And that life which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith, the faith which is in (of) the Son of God who loved me and gave himself up for me" (Galatians ii, 20). There are also the many

Further evidence.

illustrations of the soma being the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit which should be kept pure and holy. "But the body is not for fornication but for the Lord." "And the virgin is careful for the things of the Lord that she may be holy both in body and in spirit." "That the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (I Corinthians iii, 16; I Corinthians vi, 13; vii, 34; II Corinthians iv, 11; Romans vi, 12; xii, 1; Philippians i, 20). The body of the flesh may become the occasion to sin, but not necessarily so. "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh" (II Corinthians x, 3). The phrase, κατὰ σάρκα, usually connotes evil though, as shown above, it may have a purely neutral significance. And the phrase, ἐν τῃ σαρκί, may mean either the early life, not of necessity evil, or the life governed by sinful passions.[1] "For when we were in the flesh, the passions of sin which were through the law wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death" (Romans vii, 5); "Among whom ye also lived once in the lusts of the flesh" (Ephesians ii, 3). Whether the sarx or the soma is sinful depends everywhere upon the deeds characterizing either. It becomes a soma of sin if the life is "joined to a harlot" (I Corinthians vi, 16). On the other hand, it

[1] "For in my flesh dwelleth no good thing." "But it is unfair to press a sentence like this, uttered evidently under the pressure of strong personal emotion, into evidence for a strict theological judgment. And the context in Romans vii, 14, and the parallel in Galatians v, 17ff, make it plain that sarx here refers not to the material flesh; but is used as in popular parlance for human nature." Drummond, Apostolic Teaching, p. 137.

may become a soma of righteousness in which God is glorified, and Christ magnified through its instrumentality (I Corinthians vi, 20). The way of salvation according to the Law, as contrasted with the way of salvation according to Christ, is expressed in the antithetic phrases, "the children of the flesh," and "the children of the promise" (Romans ix, 8).

No dualism in Old Testament.

A dualism regarded by many as metaphysical in character cannot be found in any of the sources known as directly available to Paul. There is no evidence of it in the Old Testament.[1] The term ב שׂ ר (flesh) generally stood for living beings, but is sometimes applied to animals as well. "And there went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life" (Genesis vii, 15). As above indicated, it is frequently interchangeable with soul, spirit, or heart. "Wherefore my heart is glad and my glory rejoiceth, my flesh also shall dwell in safety" (Psalm xvi, 9). By an easy transition of usage it could easily be made to picture man's weakness as contrasted with God. "For who is there of all flesh that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire and lived" (Deuteronomy v, 26); "In God have I put my trust, I will not be afraid; what can flesh do to

[1] "The theory that matter is essentially evil is decidedly un-Hebrew. The dualistic conception of man as composed of two natures, flesh and spirit, standing in necessary and permanent antagonism to each other, is not to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures." Bruce, Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 270. See also Toy, Judaism and Christianity, p. 219.

me?" (Psalm lvi, 4). Human nature, then, with the emphasis on its limitations and its incompleteness is so designated, but one searches in vain for evidence of its use as a principle radically evil. In fact some of the prophets employed the term to cover a type of the highest moral conduct. "And I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will give them a heart of flesh that they may walk in my statutes"; figurative language indeed, but evidence that the thought of its inherent sinfulness was the most remote possibility in the mind of the Hebrew writers.

On the other hand, ruach does not imply a principle necessarily good. In the discussion of its usage, the distinction, vague as it is indeed at times, should nevertheless be noted between the Ruach of Yahweh and the human ruach where the latter is not definitely conceived as the immediate result of the former. When the writers, early or late, refer to the Ruach of Yahweh, the emphasis is predominantly upon the extraordinary and the phenomenal.[1] The recorded feats of Samson and of other heroes are prefaced by such phrases as "The Ruach of Yahweh came mightily upon him." "And the Ruach of Yahweh came mightily upon him, and he rent him (the lion) as he would a kid." "And the ropes that were upon his arms became as flax that was burned with fire" (Judges xiv, 6; xv, 14). It is sometimes regarded as the prelude to a violent outburst of rage or indignation. "And the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily

The Ruach of Yahweh regarded as the source of the marvellous, etc.

[1] A. B. Davidson, O. T. Prophecy, p. 153 ff.

upon Saul when he heard these words, and his anger was greatly kindled" (I Samuel xi, 6). Sometimes it is the reason of a special advancement in valor and strength as in the early life of David. "And the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon David from that day forward" (I Samuel xvi, 13). Men possessing unusual skill in craftmanship are said to have been "filled with the Ruach of God" (Exodus xxxv, 31). Perhaps the most striking example is in the strange behavior of Saul which later became the occasion of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" Samuel tells Saul that in his journey he will meet a band of prophets, and the Ruach of Yahweh will in turn come upon him, that he too will possess the same gift of prophecy. "And thou shalt prophesy with them and thou shalt be turned into another man" (I Samuel x, 5, 6). "And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" (I Samuel xix, 24). Such peculiar states are invariably the result of the entering in of the Ruach of Yahweh. But other abnormal conditions such as deep melancholy and gloom are supposed to be the effect of the departure of the Ruach of Yahweh, and the result of an evil ruach, though indeed in the earlier writers this operation of the evil agency is attributed to Yahweh. "Now the Ruach of Yahweh departed from Saul and an evil ruach from Yahweh troubled him" (I Samuel xvi, 14). When

again Saul becomes refreshed through David's playing, the result is expressed by the departure of the evil ruach (xvi, 23). Wherever the reference is to the human ruach, not specifically ascribed to the Ruach of Yahweh, both normal and abnormal conduct is included. When Samson's extreme thirst resulting in weakness is quenched with water from the hollow place cloven by Yahweh, "his ruach came again and he revived," an instance of how nephesh or physical life could still be present even though the ruach were absent (Judges xv, 19). So with the Egyptian whose ruach had left him as a result of having eaten no food for three days and three nights. Upon partaking of bread and water his ruach returned (I Samuel xxx, 12). Again, the amazement of the Queen of Sheba is expressed by the statement "that there was no more ruach in her," evidently implying that her normal state was an effect of the possession of her ruach (I Kings x, 5). That is to say, an abnormal state may at times be the result of the presence of the ruach, or, again, the result of the lack of it, though indeed the former is by far the more prevailing standpoint. According to Koeberle, the most ancient conception of ruach would identify it with breath or wind on the ground that all such terms as ruach, nephesh, neshama are descriptive in the first place of concrete natural phenomena, but that in the course of time differentiation took place within the content expressed by each, until ruach principally represented some extraordinary power not native to

Both normal and abnormal states ascribed to the human ruach.

man, but coming into him from an outside source producing abnormal conduct, while nephesh came to designate simply the earthly life of the individual.[1]

In later documents, more general functions are attributed to the Ruach of Yahweh. In the latter part of the Book of Isaiah, the prophet recounts the favors of God shown to the ancient Israelites, and then regards the afflictions suffered by them as disciplinary visitations of the Ruach of God (Isaiah lxiii, 10-14). The outstanding reference in the Old Testament to the operation of the Ruach of Yahweh is that given by Joel, where a national future is described in which there will be a great awakening on the part of the nation with wonderful activity in prophecy.[2] Emphasis is placed upon physical accompaniments. In fact, whatever was the nature of the visions which the prophet delineates, the rich and elaborate color of the setting shows how obsessed he was with the developing apocalyptic imagery of his age—a fact which testifies to the growing belief that it was chiefly in the domain of the startling and the marvellous where the Ruach of God had its prime manifestations.

Following in line with these older views, the later Jewish apocalyptic writings, notably the Psalms of Solomon, the Sibylline Oracles, and the Book of Enoch abound in references to the spectacular as due to the Ruach of God. Moreover,

[1] Natur und Geist, p. 202, 3.

[2] American Journal of Theology, Article, Burton, Spirit, Soul, and Flesh, July, 1916, p. 407.

Old Testament views reflected in Acts and Synoptics.

this concept designated by the word, ruach, in the Hebrew writers, is also retained in the Synoptics and Acts though, of course, expressed by the Greek word, pneuma. The opening chapters of the gospel of Luke bear evidence of this. Prophesying is the reported result of being filled with the pneuma. Zechariah describes the future work of the child, John, immediately after, according to the evangelist's account, he was "filled with the Spirit" (Luke i, 67).

Simeon's belief that he would see the Messiah before death is regarded as fore-knowledge due to the possession of the Holy Spirit. "And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ" (Luke ii, 26). The knowledge of the fate of Judas which Peter ascribes to David is due to the same source (Acts i, 16, Cf. iv, 25). Philip's purpose in joining the Ethiopian eunuch is suggested to him in the same way (viii, 29). So also Peter's vision and his subsequent decision to go from Joppa to Cæsarea. "And while Peter thought on the vision the Spirit said to him, behold, three men seek thee" (x, 19). Whenever any important step is taken in the development of the church appeals are made to the Spirit for guidance. Saul and Barnabas commence their work together, and are sent out under the same control (xiii, 2-4). The direction of travel is changed by Paul and Silas from Asia to Europe because "they were forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia" (xvi, 6). And the

appointment of officials in the Church, together with the general conduct of the work is through such help (xx, 28). Substantial evidence that the gift of prophecy, in the narrower sense of the ability to forecast an event near or remote, was a special endowment of the Spirit is given in this narrative. Agabus, one of the prophets who came down from Jerusalem, foretells by the Spirit a general famine (xi, 28). Paul, in leaving Miletus, preparatory to taking his journey to Jerusalem says to the elders:—"The Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city saying that bonds and afflictions abide me" (xx, 23). Agabus similarly credits his foreknowledge of Paul's imprisonment to the Spirit (xxi, 11). In fact, the general movement of the primitive Church, in its wonderfully widespread expansion from Jerusalem to Rome accomplished in one generation, was regarded as the principal result of the operation of the Spirit of God.

Change of emphasis in Paul.

In the treatment of this subject in the epistles, Paul undoubtedly shows certain affinities with his age in respect to some of the functions which he assigns to the Spirit. Indeed in Acts, as above indicated, he regarded "prophesying" which seemed at times little more than a type of divination, as one of the results of the possession of the Spirit, while in other places he adds such powers as the working of miracles, discerning of spirits, gifts of healing and so on (Galatians iii, 5; I Corinthians xii, 8-10). But the apostle has reduced this side of the activity of the pneuma to a com-

parative incident. The miraculous does not take, in his view, anything like the importance it occupied in the age in which he lived. The emphasis is transferred to the life of the disciple in the modest and humble phases of daily conduct. The effect of the Pneuma is here a love shed abroad in human hearts which occasions rejoicing in the midst of tribulation; a steadfastness of hope when confronted by distress; a moral disposition the opposite of that characterized as the spirit of the world, which crystallizes in the works of righteousness; a peace that cannot be disturbed; a triumphant and complete conquest over the lusts of the flesh;[1] a cleansing of the heart rather than indulgence in rampant Corinthian vices;[2] and a new liberty of action constituting, in itself, the law of righteousness as opposed to the ritual of ceremonial requirement;[3] in a word, it is that mode of conduct exemplified in Christ where sensual and degrading license becomes crucified, and the lowly walks of life abound in love, long-suffering, kindness, self-control, and other virtues receiving insufficient consideration in the codes of the schools. This is decidedly different from the more apocalyptic description of the results of the Pneuma, for such a moral life needs no exaggerated accompaniments of breathless amazement and emotional arrest. The gifts of prophesying, the power to mystify, the working of

[1] I Thessalonians iv, 7-8; Galatians v, 16 ff.
[2] I Corinthians vi, 19.
[3] Galatians v, 5; II Corinthians iii, 17.

miracles amidst signs and wonders that overpower the imagination, while still in evidence upon rare occasions, are made to yield to the more potent, if less ostentatious, spirit of love displayed in the performance of daily tasks.

To revert then to the question of the opposition between this concept and that of flesh, any evil characteristics at times ascribed to the former must naturally be those of the human rather than of the divine pneuma. Although it is difficult in places to discover whether the Hebrew writers had any clear distinction between the Ruach of God as it operated in man, and the human ruach as not specifically connected with the former, yet wherever the latter as such seems to be referred to, it may represent in the wide range of its application, breath, wind, false prophecy, haughtiness, pride, etc., together with the processes of joy, gladness, sorrow, grief, and other manifold feelings. But where it is, in the Old Testament, placed side by side with flesh it is by way of contrast, which is a physical rather than an ethical opposition. Schultz remarks:—"The word spirit is from its origin the natural antithesis to the word flesh. As possessing motion, life, and invisibility, it is the opposite of what is inert, frail and material."[1] "Now the Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit, and when Yahweh shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth

Wide range of application of ruach.

Its distinction from flesh.

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 245.

shall stumble and he that is helped shall fall, and they shall be consumed together."[1]

But these examples are not in any case illustrative of the dualism in question. That indeed was a product of Hellenistic thought[2] in the years following the completion of the canon of Scripture, and was pushed to great lengths in Alexandria. Pfleiderer's attempt to show that this assumed Hellenistic tendency in Paul found additional corroboration in a more ancient Hebrew dualism is based upon a presupposition which is read into certain Old Testament passages. "The sinfulness of man is referred to his fleshly origin and his fleshly nature" in Psalms li, 7; ciii, 10, 14; Job iv, 17 ff, and other statements. So Paul took "this step of advancing the physical uncleanness and perishableness of the σάρξ to moral sinfulness."[3] But the appeal for forgiveness of sin, for cleansing from unrighteousness does not refer the sin to the evil origin of flesh. There is no such implication in the passage:—"Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean; Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow." Likewise in Psalm ciii, the statement:—"For He knoweth our frame; He remembereth that we are dust. As for man his days are as grass, etc.," may only imply human

[1] Isaiah xxxi, 3.

[2] Cf. the passage in the Phaedo:—"And he attains to the purest knowledge of them (beauty and goodness, etc.) who goes to each with the mind alone, . . . he who has got rid, as far as he can, of eyes and ears and, so to speak of the whole body, these being in his opinion distracting elements which, when they infect the soul, hinder her from acquiring truth and knowledge." Par. 66. (Jowett, Translation, vol. ii, p. 205.)

[3] Paulinism, vol. i, p. 53.

weakness and the brevity of life; it does not indicate that the step of raising the "perishableness of the flesh to actual sinfulness" has taken place.

Neither can the direct dependence of Paul upon Alexandrianism, which Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, Grafe and others have urged, be established. It is true that he may have been brought into contact with much of that type of speculation in his travels, but, according to Schweitzer[1] who vigorously combats the theory of the Hellenization of Paul's thought, even Holtzmann "admits that no tangible influence of Philo's writings is to be recognized." But allowing for indirect contact, the evidence of the epistles is decidedly against the view that Paul took over as a finished metaphysical product the Alexandrian theory of the sarx.

What antithesis does Paul teach?

While, however, the theory which ascribes this dualism to Paul may be rejected, there can be no question that he everywhere places great emphasis upon some antithesis between sarx and pneuma. An important question here emerges. Is this contrast merely a moral one? Does sarx simply denote a generic concept covering a more or less definite group of actions, dispositions and habits, differing it may be in many minor respects but, nevertheless, agreeing in the fact that they are all condemned as wrong? And does pneuma, on the other hand, serve as a concept for another group more or less varied but approved as right? Or must one go further, and include within the scope of the concepts, content of a distinctively eschatological

[1] Schweitzer, Paul, p. 111.

character akin to that which colored the whole Messianic outlook of the apostle? That is to say, do the terms designate, in addition to the distinctions of right and wrong, bad and good, something which appertains to the future Messianic kingdom on the earth, or in the heavens, and in which the believer either before death, or after, or in both states, shares? This second feature will receive a more extended treatment in the next chapter.

Sometimes a moral and intellectual one.

In regard to the first, it seems undeniable that in certain places in the epistles, the antithesis is best explained by confining it to the moral and intellectual processes that characterized the progress of Paul's life. "It is not the sarx as such that is evil, but the evil that dwells in us" (Romans vii, 7). The ἁμαρτία, the error that in principle adheres to us, is the perversion of the relation between σάρξ and πνεῦμα which God intended, and this perversion hinders the true unfolding and development of the spirit into the likeness of God."[1] The letter to the Galatians shows that a distressing situation had arisen in those churches threatening to destroy the fruit of Paul's missionary labors amongst them. Judaizing parties adhering to and advocating the rites and tenets of Judaism had been tampering with his converts, and attempting to re-establish the yoke of the circumcision by discrediting the status of Paul as an apostolic teacher. The reports of their success had occasioned him grave alarm, especially as his original efforts had promised such good

[1] Beyschlag, N. T. Theology, vol. ii, p. 42.

results, and to head off the further development of this relapse into Pharisaism, Paul sends this letter—one of the strongest messages of his life. The contrast between their former acceptance of his gospel, and their present retrogression to the beggarly elements of the law, is treated under the distinction of pneuma and sarx. "Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the pneuma, are ye then perfected in the sarx?"[1] The term is employed in First Corinthians in much the same sense. Here, however, the Church is being reproved, not for a falling back from a sound and healthy position, but for tardiness of development. The elementary teaching which they had received had, by misinterpretation, given rise to party divisions, and in the interval between Paul's visit, and the writing of the letter, no advancement in Christian knowledge had been made. This condition with the jealousy and strife it engendered is described as σαρκικόν. "For ye are yet carnal (σαρκικοί), for whereas there is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal, and do ye not walk after the manner of men?" Taking the section just as it stands the term need only connote the regrettable qualities mentioned. Here indeed a claim of dualism might be put forward, but the antithesis is one, not between fleshly material pre-

[1] Galatians iii, 3.

Note.—Rabbinical speculation conceived of two principles within man, (1) an evil disposition, the *yezer hara* (*cor malignum*); (2) a righteous inclination, the *yezer hatob*, and that these two tendencies in their opposition were responsible for variations in his conduct.—See Maldwyn Hughes, Ethics of Jewish Apoc. Literature, p. 197 ff.

sumed as radically evil, and spirit, as Hausrath[1] would argue, but between the bondage to ceremonial law with the wranglings and disturbances conditioned by it, and the freedom of love. "For we brethren were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh but through love be servants one to another."[2] The resumption of such ceremonialism after a pneumatic commencement, and conversely, the failure to emancipate oneself from the former is a state *σαρκικόν*; but no metaphysics as to the nature of the sarx is involved in the contrast. The range of the sarx is so great that Paul may apply it to the mere rudiments of Christian knowledge, where the *σαρκικοί* are further described by the paraphrase, "babes in Christ."[3] In such a case Paul's attitude is that of a mild reproof; or, and this is, par excellence, its connotation, sarx may cover certain heinous actions visited by the apostle with passionate condemnation.[4] These and other passages confirm the ethical antithesis of conduct represented by sarx on the one hand, and by pneuma on the other, and can only lead by implication to a more fundamental dualism.

Paul's Asceticism.

Further, it cannot be proved that Paul was an exponent of asceticism in the sense in which that form of life was taught and practised under Stoic

[1] Paul "arrived at the extreme dualistic view that the flesh is naturally evil, and that for redemption there is needed a new creation of humanity after the pattern of another Adam."—N. Test. Hist., iii, 43 E.T.

[2] Galatians v, 13.

[3] I Corinthians iii, 1.

[4] I Corinthians v-vii.

and Essenic influences.[1] Certain passages, taken by themselves, might indeed serve as a basis for this interpretation. "But I buffet my body and bring it into bondage, lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected."[2] "Always bearing about in my body the dying of Jesus."[3] Put to death therefore your members which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness which is idolatry."[4, 5] But it may easily be seen that in view of the large number of instances already quoted, which exhibit the soma and sarx as ethically indifferent, and in view of others which represent them as the channels, so to speak, through which the fruits of the Spirit may be made manifest, there is no reason to appeal to full-blown Oriental asceticism to satisfy the above supposedly exceptional examples. It is not the physical organism that is implied when Paul, in the description of the bitter struggles which he waged with evil passions, speaks of the crucifixion of the sarx. That intense statement in the sixth chapter of Romans, "Knowing this that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin," expressly indicates the triumph of the new life in Christ over the former

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[1] McGiffert, Apostolic Age, p. 337.

[2] I Corinthians ix, 27.

[3] II Corinthians iv, 10.

[4] Colossians iii, 5.

[5] For further examples:—I Corinthians v, 5, vii, 1 ff; Romans vi, 12-19; viii, 13.

life of sin. "Present your bodies a living sacrifice,"[1] is ever his fervent exhortation to the members of his church· implying that such bodies are but instruments which could just as nobly minister to the cause of Christ, as they could, if put to base ends, become unworthily the servants of unrighteousness. Paul does not feel that he has to enumerate, *seriatim,* the different passions and vices whenever he makes his indictment of sins within the life of his churches. The old man, the body of sin, the flesh, the reprobate mind, the hardened heart, etc., are but concentrated phrases denoting the complex processes of evil. and serve the purposes of language in the avoidance of needless repetition. Any phrase possessing sinister significance in the popular mind could be employed. Compare:—"For they that are such serve not our Lord Christ, but their own belly (τῇ κοιλίᾳ).[2] When the injunction is given to put to death the members which are upon the earth, the catalogue of sins placed in apposition thereto, is merely another way of stating what he expresses elsewhere as the "deeds of the body." "For if ye live after the flesh ye must die, but if by the spirit ye put to death the deeds of the body, ye shall live."[3] This putting to death, or crucifixion, is the conquest of sin within the life, and is not to be effected by an asceticism which, in the severity of its application, breaks down the tissues of the body and results in

[1] Romans xii, 1.
[2] Romans xvi, 18.
[3] Romans viii, 13.

physical death, but by the exercise of those volitions which constitute in the truest sense the service of Christ.*

This indicates the decided cleft between the "crucifixion" to which Paul refers, and that ἄσκησις which, when pushed by extreme Stoicism, finally merged into suicide.[1] Several of the Stoic writers, notably Cicero,[2] Seneca, and to a less degree, Epictetus regarded "the infirmities of old age" as a legitimate reason for depriving oneself of this natural life. But the remarkable example in Ephesians v, 29, already quoted; "For no man ever hated his own flesh; but nourisheth it and cherisheth it," shows how far was the apostle from the idea of the exercise of flagellation or any ritual requirement entailing physical disability. Indeed in Colossians, asceticism of that character meets with his strong disapprobation. "Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility and severity of the body (καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος), but are not of any value against the indulgences of the flesh."[3] Such a practice is not considered the true corrective of fleshly passions." If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though being in the world do ye subject yourselves to ordinances?"[4] When the apostle says that he buffets his body that he might bring it into bondage, his statement must be understood in rela-

*See expansion of this idea from another point of view in following chapter.

[1] Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean, p. 101.

[2] De Finibus, iii, ps. 60, 61 (Hutchinson's Translation).

[3] Colossians ii, 23.

[4] Colossians ii, 20.

tion to the figure of speech which leads up to the use of the phrase. The figure is taken from the Greek games which were such a prominent feature of Hellenic national life in the Isthmus of Corinth. "And every man that striveth in the games exerciseth self-control in all things, . . I therefore so run as not uncertainly; so fight I as not beating the air."[1] Just as the body needed the discipline of control in the training of the athlete that the coveted prize might be won so. to Paul, the same mastery must be achieved, not by mutilation, nor by other ascetic prescriptions, but by a wise and watchful temperance which would fit him for a competition in which the prize sought was a crown of righteousness. That this preparation involved for him long and difficult struggle might account for the extreme language used in his descriptions. But while due consideration must be given to the apostle's observance of certain Jewish customs of fasting and other forms of abstinence—for it cannot be said that he broke absolutely with his fellow-countrymen in this respect[2]—yet his glorying did not lie in the adher-

[1] I Corinthians ix, 25, 26.

[2] In II Corinthians, fasting is cited with patience, watchings, kindness and other laudable characteristics as the means by which Paul's converts might commend themselves "as ministers of God" (vi, 4-7). Compare Acts xiv, 23:—"And when they had appointed for them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting they commended them to the Lord in whom they had believed." This practice may stand with a number of other Jewish rites such as circumcision, which, in the view of Paul, was only occasionally expedient. To adhere to them, or to refrain from them, lay "in his right in the Gospel." "What then is my reward? That when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel without charge, so as not to use to the full my right in the gospel. For though I was free from all men, I brought myself under bondage to all that I might gain the more" (I Corinthians ix, 18, 19).

ence to these observances, but rather in the fact that the Spirit of God by its "indwelling" in the temple of his body thereby made it an instrument for the fulfilment of the law of Christ.

CHAPTER V.

PAUL'S TREATMENT OF THE SAME CONCEPTS FROM THE ESCHATOLOGICAL STANDPOINT.

TURNING now to the second question indicated on page 59, as to the eschatological character of sarx and pneuma, it is first necessary to refer to the main apocalyptic concepts which formed the background of Paul's intellectual and religious activity. The tabulated analysis has shown that one "advance" which the age of apocalyptic made upon the prophetic period consisted in widening the scope of the Day of Judgment to include, not only the punishment of oppressors, pagan and apostate, but also the complete destruction of the natural world, and its supersession by a new world at that time transcendent in character. The dualism between the existing present and the imagined future became so acute, that the citizens of the new and supra-mundane Israel were supposed to possess scarcely any characteristics native to their earthly state, but on the contrary they were to become like the stars or angels,[1] and the description is generally based upon celestial analogy. The literature abounds in speculation upon the existence of angels and demons. They are grouped in a hierarchical classification, and the

A growing dualism in apocalyptic.

[1] Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, p. 358 ff.

harassing vicissitudes through which the Jewish nation passes beneath the tyrannic sway of the successive world powers, is explained on the hypothesis of a continuous warfare between good and evil angels being reflected in the bitter conflicts upon the earth[1]—a view which probably points to definite contact of Jewish thought with Persian theology. Moreover, the Old Testament Sheol as the underworld into which the departed regardless of distinctions enter,[2] becomes now a state intermediate between death and resurrection wherever the latter is admitted. Definite abodes of men, angels and demons are represented in the divisions of Sheol, Paradise, the Abyss and Gehenna, and there certain rewards and punishments are meted out to good and bad, as well as after the final judgment. With respect to the terms applied to beings in the intermediate state, and the other non-earthly abodes, the writers make use of the concept, pneuma, to designate angels or demons, never the concept psyche. But just as in earlier Hebrew literature these terms are easily interchanged as designatory of human beings in the ethical and emotional sense, so in this eschatological speculation they become synonymous.

Pneuma not psyche designates angelic and demonic beings but, otherwise, both terms synonymous.

Some of these conceptions are taken over by Paul without much modification. While he never goes to the ascetic and dualistic extremes of

[1] Fairweather, Background of Gospels, p. 266 ff.

[2] Compare the picture of the Babylonian Aralu, a cavern filled with dust, a place of silence, "a land without return." Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 306.

Jewish Alexandrianism, yet he is, at least, the heir of Palestinian Judaism in his general depreciation of this present evil world which is to have a catastrophic termination at the "revelation of the Lord Jesus in flaming fire."[1] The transient character of the world is emphasized in I Corinthians vii, 31; its "vain" character under present conditions in Romans viii, 19 ff.

Paul's views of angelology and demonology similar to those of earlier apocalyptic.

The traditional views of angelology are also reflected in the epistles. The reference in Galatians iii, 19, to the law having been ordained through angels is just the Rabbinical notion based on Deuteronomy xxxiii, 2, that the angels had some part at Sinai in the promulgation of the Law.[2] In his rebuke of the spirit of litigiousness that prevailed in the Corinthian Church, Paul refers to the widespread belief that in the general judgment both human and angelic beings would come under the combined jurisdiction of God and the saints. "Or know ye not that the saints shall judge the world? And if the world is judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" (I Corinthians vi, 2, 3). The condemnation of God will be visited, not only upon the world but also upon the angelic "watchers," who are charged in Rabbinic tradition with the responsibility of much of the wickedness and the misery of the world.

Impt

Read over

[1] II Thessalonians i, 7; Galatians i, 4; I Corinthians iii, 13.

[2] Josephus, Antiq. 15.5.3. Compare I Corinthians xiii, 1; Romans viii, 38; Colossians ii, 18, for belief in angels.

Likewise, his views of Satan and of demonology are closely similar to the latest development of apocalyptic. The temptation to lust was characteristically due to evil angels or, more specifically, to Satan.[1] Physical injuries, disease, and death are the results of the latter's operations in human beings.[2] His principal domain is in the air, but he may, together with his demons, enter into mortal bodies.[3]

Notice Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians: "That ye may give yourselves unto prayer, and may be together again, that Satan tempt you not, because of your incontinency" (I Corinthians vii, 5). "That no advantage may be gained over us by Satan; for we are not ignorant of his devices." (II Corinthians ii, 11). He is regarded as the god of this world, "blinding the minds of the unbelieving," that the light of the gospel of Christ might not shine upon them (II Corinthians iv, 4). The name Belial was used in late Jewish literature as a synonym for Satan or the Devil, and Paul in II Corinthians vi, 15, uses the same designation in stating the contrast between righteousness and iniquity, light and darkness, Christ and Belial.

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[1] I Enoch xv, xl, liii, liv; II Enoch xviii.

[2] Jubilees x, xvii, xlviii.

[3] Philo, De Gigantibus; II Enoch xxix.

Note.—The injunction of I Corinthians xi, 10, that a woman should wear "a sign of authority upon her head because of the angels," might imply a belief that the unveiled woman was subject to the lust of evil angels—an interpretation based on Genesis vi, 4; or, it possibly might indicate that this form of immodesty was revolting to angels as ministers of God.

In the temptation of man, Satan is regarded as assuming the guise of an angel of light. "For even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing therefore if his ministers also fashion themselves as ministers of righteousness" (II Corinthians xi, 14, 15). Whatever may have been the nature of the infirmity described as "a thorn in the flesh" which harassed Paul, it is due to the activity of Satan.[1] The hierarchical conception of evil spirits is seen in Ephesians ii, 2, where Satan is placed at the head of the "powers of the air." Similarly in Ephesians vi, 12, 13, there is the undoubted conviction of a world of evil spirits, principalities, world-rulers of darkness, spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places, all of them emissaries of the devil against whose wiles Paul urges his church "to put on the whole armor of God" that they may be able to "withstand in the evil day."

Evidently then, there is in Paul little modification of the traditional view.[2] It runs through his epistles from the earliest to the latest. An important divergence however, might be noted, not so much in respect to the nature of the Judaistic

[1] Both Judaistic and Babylonian thought developed this view. "To demons all manner of evil is ascribed. Their presence was felt in the destructive winds that swept the land. The pestilent fevers that rise out of the marshes of the Euphrates valley, and the diseases bred . . . were alike traced to demons lurking in the soil. . . . The petty annoyances that disturb the peace of man—were also due to the instigation of the demons."—Jastrow, Religion of Bab. and Assyria, p. 260.

[2] "Below the moon, in the sublunary sphere . . . the air was full of demons, beings whose substance was lighter than flesh and blood, but yet too gross to ascend into the empyrean."—Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypse, p. 31.

conception as to the prominence given to the treatment of it. The multiplication of functions assigned to angelic and demonic agencies, the voluminous speculations as to their origin, their abode, the specific character of the punishments meted out to them, given in detail in Jubilees, II Enoch, II Baruch, and other writings, are practically ignored by the apostle. The references to such agencies in the epistles, while they indicate to some extent his acceptance of this Rabbinical contribution,[1] yet reveal not so much the apostle's interest in the speculation as a mere cosmological inquiry, as a deeply practical appeal to his converts that inasmuch as they themselves believed in hosts of evil agencies operating for the moral destruction of human beings, there was on that account all the more reason for girding their "loins with truth," and for putting on the "breastplate of righteousness."

What relation then has Paul's conception of an after-life, and of the eschatological σῶμα and πνεῦμα with the Judaistic outlook upon this subject? Several currents of belief are discernible in the Old Testament and later apocalyptic upon the nature of existence after death. The earlier views attributed to the departed in Sheol a certain degree of activity[2] and of knowl-

[1] Lake, Earlier Epistles of Paul, p. 192.

[2] L. B. Paton. Biblical World, Article xxxv, No. 2, Feb., 1910.

Note.—Egyptian thought had developed the conception of the ka, a genius corporeal in character whose office it was to guide an individual in his fortunes after death. "In the oldest inscriptions the death of a man may be stated by say-

edge respecting the affairs of human beings upon earth. The practice of necromancy implied the belief that communication was possible between the living and the Shades in Sheol.

The latter were represented as possessing some of the characteristics belonging to them in their earthly state. Saul identifies Samuel from his mantle and general appearance.[1] The king of Babylon is recognized by the "dead princes" as soon as he enters the underworld[2] and Pharaoh at his death enters into a company recognizable by certain national and individual features.[3] This popular belief continued right down through the prophetic period even though it came under the lash of the prophets, who saw in the many magical practices growing out of the belief an invasion of their prerogatives as the exponents of the will of Yahweh.[4] In later times, a twofold belief expressed the general outlook of Judaism. There was first the skeptical attitude voiced by many writers of the Wisdom literature and of some of the Psalms. Notice the expressions:—"For there

[1] I Samuel xxviii, 14.

[2] Isaiah xiv.

[3] Ezekiel xxxii.

[4] Isaiah viii.

ing that 'he goes to his ka'; when Osiris dies he 'goes to his ka.' . . . In their relations to each other the ka was distinctly superior to his mundane companion. In the oldest texts the sign for the ka, the uplifted arms, are frequently borne upon the standard which bears the signs for the gods. . . . The ka assists the deceased by speaking to the great God in his behalf, and after this intercession, by introducing the dead man to the God. He forages for the deceased, and brings him food that they may both eat together."—Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 56.

is no work nor device nor knowledge nor wisdom in Sheol whither thou goest."[1] "For in death there is no remembrance of thee, in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?"[2] There was also the other note of optimism varying in conviction from the wistful yearnings of Job to the triumphant utterances of Psalms xvi, xlix and lxxiii.

As the pessimism respecting the future of the nation and the life of the individual upon the earth grew in the following centuries, the optimism with regard to the life beyond the grave increased proportionately. With the Maccabæan struggles there emerged definite convictions, not only of immortality, but also of a resurrection from the grave. Righteous Israelites in embodied form were to rise again at the final judgment, and to enjoy the blessings of the Messianic kingdom upon a rejuvenated earth, or within a new and heavenly Jersualem. Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism diverged here in two important directions. The former generally held to a resurrection of the body; the latter, while holding to the immortality of the pneuma, rejected the notion of the bodily resurrection. This school also developed the view of life eternal as identical with the life of virtue as lived here on earth. Philo identifies life with righteousness. Death in the deepest sense is the earthly life of the wicked. "The wicked man is the most

Main differences in Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism.

[1] Ecclesiastes ix, 10.

[2] Psalm vi, 5.

short-lived of men, living only to die, or rather having already died as to the life of virtue."[1]

There is scarcely any need of pointing out that there is no hint whatever that Paul shared for a moment the sceptical attitude of Ecclesiastes upon the question of immortality. Every passage of the exceedingly large number where his eye ranges beyond the stretch of this life throbs with a hope even more intense than that of the Psalms. His conception of life and death is two-fold, the former relating to the present existence under earthly conditions, the latter referring to the existence beyond the grave. The earthly life itself may, upon a certain construction of the passages, possess immortality in its qualitative character, in that the abandonment of legalism and the acceptance of the new salvation in Christ has the promise and potency of the emergence from death into life. "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me, and that life that I now live in the flesh, I live in faith."[2] "Even so reckon yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus."[3] The law of sin and death has been transcended by the law of the Spirit, which giveth life.[4] Moral death is the mind of the flesh; moral life is the life of peace, the result of possessing the mind of the Spirit.[5]

[1] Philo ii, 153.
[2] Galatians ii, 19, 20.
[3] Romans vi, 11.
[4] Romans viii, 2.
[5] Romans viii, 6.

This is undoubtedly an important constituent in the teaching of Paul. The life of salvation is variously described. It is a life issuing out of the death of trespasses and the "uncircumcision of the flesh" into the "circumcision of Christ." It is a resurrection "through faith in the working of God." It is a condition of "being made alive together with Christ."[1] "And you did he make alive when we were dead through your trespasses and sins, . . . even when we were dead through our trespasses, (God) made us alive together with Christ, . . . and raised us up with him and made us to sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus."[2]

Evidently life in the rich qualitative sense of communion with God in Christ, and resurrection in the sense of a "new creation" in Christ, has not, in such references, to be construed in the light of a mere continuance of existence furthered by the dissolution of the body at the Parousia. Such a qualitative view of life is indeed not a new contribution to the belief in immortality. It is rather an intensive revival of a similar conception seen in the prophets, in Habakkuk,[3] in Ezekiel,[4] in 2 Isaiah,[5] and in many of the Psalmists, and although suffering temporary eclipse in the bulk of the apocalyptic literature, yet sprang into vigorous vitality in the teachings of Jesus.

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[1] Colossians ii, 11-13.
[2] Ephesians ii, 1-7.
[3] ii, 4.
[4] xx, xxxiii.
[5] lv. 3.

Nevertheless, this phase of life and death by no means exhausts the Pauline conception. The apocalyptic outlook of the apostle, as developed in a later chapter of the thesis, throws open a wide field in which the discussion of the resurrection and of the life and death eternal becomes capable of great extension. It is, therefore, necessary to examine passages running concurrently with the above where the eschatological treatment of life and death is prominently set forth. The difficulty of the investigation is apparent when it is seen that the late Jewish views, from which the Pauline apocalyptic is largely drawn, interpreted the termination of the natural world upon thoroughly catastrophic lines. If we were dealing with conditions similar to those which held in the prophetic period, or in the early part of the second century B.C., the problem would be less complicated, for there the future life was depicted as being lived in this world, renewed and blessed it is true, but still *this* world, of which Palestine and Jerusalem would be the centre of national hopes—a world fertile and peaceful, where the Davidic line would be perpetuated. But that conception had already been superseded by a transition to a non-earthly Messianic kingdom, and later apocalyptic, of which Paul himself was with modifications a fervent exponent, allowed for the New Jerusalem the smallest modicum of resemblance with that which had hitherto existed.

Eschatological life in Paul.

Difficulty of the treatment.

The question then as to the nature of the eschatological life, in Paul's thought, can only be

properly investigated by a preliminary consideration of his views concerning the current doctrine of the resurrection, or the character of the transition of the life from its earthly to its transcendent abode.

What phase of the resurrection tradition does the apostle accept? A glance through the literature from I Enoch to IV Ezra discloses manifold threads of speculation. In I Enoch, 1-36, the resurrection of the righteous Israelites in bodily form is taught, together with that of the wicked in a disembodied condition. In Daniel it is limited to saints and apostates. In the Testaments there is a definite plan in the order of the risen ones; the Old Testament saints appearing first, then the tribal leaders, and finally all Israelites, righteous and wicked, all apparently with bodies. Some writers, as Jubilees, admit an immortality of spirits without any indication of a bodily appearance. Others, as in I Enoch, 37-71, admit the resurrection of all Israel, without flesh, but still clothed with "the garments of life"; others still, as I Enoch, 91-104, a resurrection of the spirit, not however to the intervening Messianic kingdom, but to the new Heaven after the final judgment. Sometimes the resurrection of righteous Israelites with their former earthly bodies is taught, as in II Maccabees already quoted. Again, as in II Enoch, while a denial of the fleshly resurrection is made, yet a bodily form of the Divine glory is admitted similar to that in I Enoch, 37-71, though differing from that writer in that it is

Various views of the Resurrection.

restricted to righteous souls. Only in the very latest sections of IV Ezra, and II Baruch, is a general bodily resurrection of Jew and Gentile taught, while in the Alexandrian literature no reference to a resurrection of any type is given.

Paul's variations from above.

It will be shewn in a later discussion that in many aspects of Eschatology Paul's attitude towards current views was one of characteristic independence. He accepted a tradition wherever he felt convinced of its harmony with his special message: he rejected it when it came into collision. Just as he ran counter to Judaistic prejudice by admitting Gentiles into the Kingdom of God on an equal footing with Jews, so here, although the bulk of apocalyptic absolutely refused to consider the resurrection of a Gentile, Paul, by placing the condition of such a privilege upon moral rather than upon ethnic grounds, freely allowed him the same right as the Jew. This fact constitutes right through his epistles the leading departure from the inherited standpoint. With regard to the hypothesis that Paul taught, in his epistles, a general resurrection of righteous and wicked, such a view stands or falls with the exegetical and theological interpretation placed upon such passages as I Cor. xv. 20 ff. and Romans v, 12-21. The balance of probability favors the view of the exclusive resurrection of believers in Christ. Referring to the "imposing array of interpreters" who restrict the "all" who are to be made alive in Christ, to those who before death were in

living fellowship with Him, Bruce remarks that a large measure of agreement can only be found "in regard to one fundamental point, viz., that St. Paul did earnestly believe and teach a resurrection of Christians to eternal life."[1] Without entering just at present into a discussion of these interpretations, the main problem before us is to attempt to discover the nature of such resurrection as Paul conceived it, its points of agreement with, and disagreement from, current reflection.

Thessalonians inclined to Palestinian view, though against the earthly and fleshly type.

As far as the teaching is set forth in the first epistle to the Thessalonians the apostle does not commit himself, in set phrase, to a doctrine either of a bodily or a pneumatic resurrection. The accompaniments though are certainly Jewish. The imagery suggests the Palestinian, not the Alexandrian outlook. The question is not merely the immortality of the psyche or pneuma, as in the Book of Wisdom or Fourth Maccabees. If that were the view of Paul there would be no significance in postponing a merely pneumatic immortality until the occurrence of the Parousia. The Palestinian tradition usually associated the resurrection in bodily form with the judgment, and the references in this epistle to the departed rising from their sleep at the sound of the trump, and meeting the earthly survivors in the clouds, suggests, though it does not prove by itself, the soma as the form of the new life.

The setting, however, constitutes an argument in favor of a pneumatic as against the fleshly soma.

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[1] St. Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 387.

Wherever in the Jewish view the Judgment ushered in a renewed Messianic kingdom either temporary or eternal upon the earth, the fleshly or bodily form of the resurrection was taught. If the dualism of the present and the future proceeded far enough to provoke the belief in the complete abandonment of the present earth in all its forms, then the Judgment inaugurated a new and heavenly Jerusalem, the citizens of which entered into a life embodied in a pneumatic soma, or else into an immortal existence where no mention is made whatever of an organism. There is but scant evidence to show that Paul believed either in a temporary and earthly Messianic kingdom, into which the departed entered after their resurrection, or in an eternal Messianic kingdom upon the earth, where those who rose from the grave to share in it would obviously need appropriate human somata.

It is possible to interpret the passage as having relation to an earthly kingdom, if Paul's reference to the "word of the Lord" reflects the closing verses of the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, where Jesus tells His disciples that in the new kingdom many of their cherished earthly possessions will be restored to them. If Paul's instructions to the Thessalonians had been in accordance with the Matthean account of the words of Jesus, then his earliest teaching would probably have included the hope of a restoration to a renewed earth. But the mode of description where the departed and the survivors gather together to meet the Lord in the clouds suggests that the interpretation should fall

along the traditional line of I Enoch, 37-71 and the Assumption of Moses, where the transcendent view is worked out, than in accord with the Testaments and II Maccabees, with their earthly Messianic hopes.[1]

Argument of I Corinthians xv.

It is in the fifteenth chapter of I Corinthians where the apostle enters upon his more elaborate treatment of the resurrection soma. The argument was raised by the denial of the resurrection of the dead by some members (*ἐν ὑμῖν τινὲς*) within the Corinthian Church. To a Jew whose two long centuries of tradition had developed a belief in a body coming forth from the grave at the Judgment, so similar in form to the earthly body that surviving friends would immediately recognize it, the question would not present this perplexity. But to a Greek, especially if he were of the Philonic school, with its craving for an utter elimination of the corporeal condition—a school which looked upon physical death as a welcome medium for bodily emancipation—this recovery of the soma would be construed in the light of an obstruction to the purely pneumatic state than as an auxiliary to it. The objector, granted that he had accepted a great deal of the rest of Paul's teaching, might possibly have held to a belief in the resurrection of Christ in the symbolic sense of freedom from the trammels of the body, and a pneumatic ascension into the heavens, and hence the same might apply to his followers at death, but Paul's argument shows his

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[1] See Tables.

What is the nature of this soma?

divergence from the Alexandrian speculation,[1] where, in the first part of the epistle, he recounts the evidence for the post-Crucifixion appearances of Christ. A detailed investigation into the historical credibility of these appearances is essentially a synoptic problem, and need not be considered here, though Paul is evidently making use of a tradition fairly current among the early Christians. The problem that faces us in the analysis of Pauline thought is the content of the resurrection soma, whether of Christ or of His followers. That it does not mean merely a continuance of life following physical death, which might be summed up in the word immortality, is evidenced by the fact that both Jew and Greek, if the former were not a Sadducee, and the latter were not a disciple, e.g., of Epicurean[2] speculation, might still firmly hold to a conviction of the life beyond the grave. The recounted appearances of Christ to Cephas and to the twelve, to the five hundred, to James, to the apostles, and lastly to Paul, were intended not exclusively as an argument for immortality, but as an argument for some type of organism, however that might be pictured in the imagery of Paul. "With what body do they come?" was the crucial question, and in the answer Paul moves over to the side of the Greek rather than to that of the Jew in rejecting the fleshly nature of the new form of

[1] I. F. Wood, Biblical World, Article, Sept., 1911.

[2] Second maxim of Epicurus: "Death is nothing to us; for the body, when it has been resolved into its elements, has no feeling, and that which has no feeling is nothing to us." Quoted by Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean, p. 185.

existence. "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (verse 50). But he is not ready to admit the immortality of an unclothed pneuma. In the delineation of this soma Paul adduces the well-known analogy of the process through which the seed-corn goes from the time it is implanted in the soil until it reaches the maturity of the plant, an analogy abundantly used in the formulation of Stoic doctrines. The new soma of the plant has properties differing greatly from that of the bare grain, the γυμνὸν κόκκον which is sown. To this is added the argument that bodies in nature differ from each other, and differ greatly, each with its own glory (δοξα), its own special properties. Celestial bodies are contrasted with bodies terrestrial. The glory of the sun differs from that of the moon as it does from that of the stars, as, again, the latter differ among themselves in brilliancy. When, however, the apostle in following up the analogy attempts to define further the relation between the human soma of earth, which is admittedly ψυχικόν, and the new soma of the resurrection, which is not ψυχικόν, he does so by the employment of categories which suggest the maximum degree of contrast. The former, the ψυχικόν soma, is subject to corruption. It enters into dissolution at death; its properties are those of weakness, dishonor and mortality. The latter, the πνευματικόν soma, is not subject to death. It is incorruptible; its properties are those of glory, honor and immortality. The contrast is not merely

Plant and stellar analogy, but later predicates emphasize differentiation.

between death and deathlessness. A term of more positive meaning is used in opposition to "destruction" (*φθορά*), namely, *ἀφθαρσία*, not simply *ἀθανασία*.

Process simply assigned to God.

How the transformation takes place Paul does not answer, except in his characteristic method of attributing the change to God. "God giveth it a body even as it pleased him," and in a moment it is given in exchange for the other. That is for Paul, as for Hebrew thought in general, the full explanation behind all new forms of life in vegetable and human existence. It is one example among many of the *μυστήρια* of God.

But this incorruptible, pneumatic soma is not indeed the exclusive inheritance of the resurrected. It is given as well to those in Christ who survive to the Parousia. The transformation affects both the living and the dead, just as in I Thessalonians the gathering together of Christians "to meet the Lord in the air" includes both classes. The further description of the new soma is based upon familiar illustration. In II Corinthians v. the present soma is likened to an earthly building, a tent (*οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους*) which, whether the picture is drawn from the Tabernacle of the Wilderness, or from Paul's vocation as a tent maker, or from nomadic life in general, becomes subject, like all earthly structures, to final dissolution. The contrast, then, is between a perishable building and a heavenly one—"a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." The intensity of his longing for this

transformation is expressed in the following part of the chapter where he groans to be freed from the present bodily condition with its suffering its persecution and its pain; an emancipation achieved by being clothed upon with a body not subject to these distressing accompaniments. "Longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven" (verse 2).

That this sentiment is not Alexandrian in tone is further indicated by the desire of the apostle to avoid a possible disembodied state before the final consummation. If, on the other hand the expressions, "If so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked"; "Not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon," may be interpreted as implying an immediate passage from earth to the heavenly habitation (ὀικητήριον), then it might be concluded that the apostle has also left behind the Jewish conception of Sheol, or an intermediate state between death and the resurrection. But it might likewise be interpreted that he could not be content with the notion of a naked pneuma. The idea predominant in late Judaism was that the physical body would be raised from the grave; the idea familiar to the Greeks was a continued pneuma having discarded its earthly soma. Paul avoids both by affirming the continued life of the pneuma with an appropriate soma prepared by God for the righteous. As against the "old idea which was familiar to the Jews now comes a new idea:

Christians when they die go to their home, to the Lord."[1]

The fact that Paul never enters at length into this favorite theme of Rabbinical speculation concerning Sheol, with its compartments,[2] its retributive and geographical features, suggests the inference that he may have hoped for an instant admission at death into the presence of God, or, if the Parousia should occur shortly and within his lifetime, death and therefore Sheol would be avoided.

Instances of "ecstasy" in Greek and Judaistic literature.

But there are traces within the epistles which indicate that Paul believed there was the possibility of attaining, in this life, some insight into the nature of the heavenly or pneumatic world. Both Greek and Judaistic speculation had developed a theory of vision or ecstasy in the raptures of which a mystic might be transported from this world into the abode of the pneumata, and upon his return to normal conditions would describe in symbolic language the flight of his spirit. Certain sections of I Enoch picture the seer as being brought into the presence of God, who, although invisible, yet communicates by word of mouth to Enoch the history of the world from the creation, and its final destiny. Some of the experiences are described as dreams, in which the visions of the Flood, the fortunes of the survivors, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans and other events succeed each other. These experiences

[1] Weinel, St. Paul, p. 381, E. T.

[2] Porter, Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 62 ff.

then are recorded in books which must be kept inviolable by Enoch's descendants. In II Enoch the seer stays one month in heaven, where he writes 366 books of what he has seen, and then comes back to the world for another month to give the records to his family. In such cases the heavenly pneumata, whether of angels or of departed righteous, are spoken of as possessing human shape and motion. They can speak to the seer; are glorious of appearance; are full of joy and gladness, and as they guide him in his journeys they resemble in many respects human companions.[1] The Book of Tobit gives a remarkable example of the belief in angels appearing as human beings, possessing many human functions from the time of their manifestation till their return to the heavenly world. The sections in question narrate the journeys of Tobit where the angel Raphael appears as a man, Azarias the son of Ananias, and guides the traveller to his destination. Throughout the journey Raphael sits down at meat with Tobit, and enters as companion with him in all his affairs. At the close Raphael discloses to Tobit his (Raphael's) angelic nature, explaining that he had, in reality, eaten nothing during the journey, that the partaking of the meals was only an illusion given in a vision. But his presence there in human form, his guidance, his conversation, and finally his ascension into the heavens were not supposed to possess the illusory properties of eating and drinking.[2]

[1] 1 Enoch 1-36.
[2] Tobit xiii, 19-32.

The literature is full of the description of heavenly beings, and of the ecstasy of mystics, varying in language from the most concrete, earthly analogies to the most vague symbolism. Philo's utterances are an excellent example of the latter method. He states:—"Often when I have come to write out the doctrine of philosophy, though I well knew what I ought to say, I have found my mind dry and barren, and renounced the task in despair. At other times though I came empty, I was suddenly filled with thoughts showered upon me from above, like snow-flakes or seed, so that in the heat of Divine possession, I knew not the place, or the company or myself, what I said, or what I wrote."[1] On the other hand, the Vision of Aridaeus as given by Plutarch, although belonging to the latter part of the first century A.D., yet strikingly reflects the tendency to draw minute pictures of beings in the other world, and shows that souls of men, though possessing faint and shadowy outlines, still were colored, and had the power to fly through space at lightning speed. Wicked souls were identified by the peculiar color of their forms, whereas the righteous were clothed in an "entirely ray-like uniform color." "Observe," he continued, "the colors of the souls of every shade and sort; that greasy brown-grey

[1] Works vol. ii, De Mig. Abra. p. 50 (Yonge).

Note.—In the story of Er the Armenian, souls although having left the earthly bodies are regarded as coming into the intermediate space between earth and heaven, bearing upon their backs the symbols of their deeds, some coming out of the earth dusty and worn with travel, and some "descending from heaven clean and bright."
Republic, p. 331 (Jowett).

is the pigment of sordidness and selfishness; that blood-red inflamed shade is a sign of a savage and venomous nature. Wherever blue-grey is, from such a nature incontinence in pleasure is not easily eradicated; innate malignity, mingled with envy causes that livid discoloration in the same way that cuttle-fish eject their sepia."[1] The Jewish apocalyptic writings are pre-eminently the sources of such examples. Many expressions, such as those found in Daniel occur which illustrate angelic communications with human beings. "And a thing was revealed unto Daniel, . . . and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision" (x, 1). Other men present with the sage at the time, although in some way affected by fright and amazement, yet were supposed not "to see the vision" (x, 7). The revelation was sometimes associated with a deep sleep and physical weakness (x, 9), in which state the angel, or presence, or "man clothed in linen," with a face as the "appearance of lightning," set forth in graphic terms the catastrophes attending the end of the

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[1] Vision of Aridaeus, p. 25 ff. (Mead).

Note—The apostle uses the same term (ὤφθη) in describing the appearance of Jesus to himself, as to the other apostles. The word in its various forms is employed where the dream or vision state is either distinctly mentioned or implied. "And a vision (ὅραμα) appeared (ὤφθη) to Paul in the night; There was a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him and saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us" (Acts, xvi 9). In the Apocalypse of John it is used to describe the vision of the temple of God in heaven and other signs. "And there was seen (ὤφθη) in his temple the ark of his covenant" (Revelation xi, 19). "And a great sign was seen in heaven" (Revelation xii, 1). In several other places although (ὤφθη) is not used, yet the experience is expressly referred to as a vision

world, together with the ultimate triumph of the saints of God.

The religious thought of the first century A.D. was saturated with these ecstatic conceptions. They are reflected in Acts 2, where the words of Joel are quoted by Peter; in chapter x, where an angel of God appears to Cornelius and to Peter; and in the statement of Paul's conversion in chapters ix, and xxii. In the epistles the vision (**ὀπτασία**) or apocalypse (**ἀποκάλυψις**) becomes, in the interpretation of the apostle, a source of his insight into the gospel of Christ, or of his knowledge of his character.[1] It is not clear whether such revelations came in the form of dreams in the waking state, or in trances, or whether the language used in their description is highly symbolical of overwhelming convictions regarding the significance of Christ for the salvation of men. At any rate they revolve around Christ especially in his eschatological character as the important centre. The experience related in the twelfth

[1] Galatians i, 12; ii, 1; I Corinthians ix, 1; xi, 23; xiv, 6; xv, 3; Ephesians iii, 3.

or trance (*ὁραμα*), or (*ὀπτασία*) or (*ἐκστασις*). Zechariah's experiences with the angel is described as a vision (*ὀπτασία*) which he saw (*ἑώρακεν*) in the temple (Luke i, 22). The appearance of the Lord to Ananias at Damascus is *ἐν ὁράματι* (Acts ix, 10). Peter's vision of the sheet at Joppa comes while in a trance (*ἐν ἐκστάσει* xi, 5). "And the Lord said (*εἶπεν*) unto Paul in the night by a vision" (*δι ὁράματος* xviii, 9). Luke also refers to Paul receiving a message from the Lord as he fell into a trance (*ἐν ἐκστάσει*), in the temple at Jerusalem (Acts xxii, 17, 18). But the terms are not so restricted. In Ecclesiasticus xliii, 2, *ὀπτασια* is used of the appearance of the rising sun. And although Paul's argument for his apostleship is expressed in the words; "Have I

chapter of Second Corinthians furnishes the ground of the most extensive speculation in Paul upon this subject, but even here he places, by a two-fold repetition, a restricting parenthesis upon the description;—"Whether in the body or apart from the body I know not, God knoweth." It is true that he accepts one of the two Rabbinical traditions, that the highest place in the heavenly sphere is the third heaven. Contemporary thought at times limited the classification of the heavens to three series, the third being the abode of God, and at other times extended it to include seven as in 2 Enoch,[1] where the third is a place of "sweet-flowering trees," a region "between corruptibility and incorruptibility, with springs of honey and milk, oil and wine," and where the seventh is the habitation of God. Paul identifies the third with Paradise, but his reluctance or his inability to tell whether the revelation was communicated to him while he was in the human or pneumatic soma, or even merely as pneuma, is indicative of the difficulty of describing his vision, or of his lack of concise differentiation between these concepts. In

Paul's reticence in this type of speculation.

Read carefully

[1] viii, xx.

not seen (ἑόρακα) Jesus our Lord?" yet in Colossians ii, 1 this term is used in the sense of ordinary sight. "For as many as have not seen (ἑόρακαν) my face in the flesh." Compare Acts xx, 25, and also John viii, 57—"Thou art not yet fifty years old and hast thou seen Abraham?" Compare further, Mark xvi, 7; Matthew xxviii, 7, 10; Luke xvi, 23; John xiv, 7, 9; xx, 18, 25, 29; Rev. i, 7.

The terms then are used of ordinary perceptions, of human beings and things, of extraordinary states in connection with visions of angels, and dazzling light and glory from heaven. Sometimes a distinction is drawn between the appearance of angels and other heavenly messengers in dream visions, and in the normal waking state. See the Tobit reference

this instance he is in line rather with the Alexandrian mysticism for contrary to the Palestinian procedure he admits the revelation to be expressed "in unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter." This hesitation to furnish the features of his ecstatic experience in curious contrast to the detailed and descriptive method is thoroughly in agreement with the scant notice which the apostle gives to the question of Sheol and Paradise in the rest of the epistles. Despite such hesitancy in this case, he elsewhere urges that the posthumous life with its appropriate **σῶμα πνευματικόν** is dependent upon the character of the life lived on earth in the **σῶμα ψυχικόν** and, therefore, is applicable only to the righteous. That the judgment with its rewards and punishments was conditioned by the nature of the earthly life was indeed a Rabbinical notion, but it was conceived in the light of a ledger account or a scale of measurement, where good and evil deeds usually of a legal character were minutely balanced in the records kept by the angels in heaven.[1] In Paul, the moral relation is ever prominent.

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[1] Volz. Jüdische Eschatologie, p. 93 ff.

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above. Compare also Acts xii. 9, where an angel stands by Peter in his cell, smites him on the side, and awakening him says:—"Rise up quickly." Peter at first cannot convince himself whether the command of the angel is merely a visionary one or not. "And he went out and followed; and he knew not that it was true which was done by the angel but thought he saw a vision." The subsequent release created the conviction that it was the action of an angel producing certain important changes in existing conditions, and not the product of a "mere fancy" or a dream. "And when Peter was come to himself (*ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος*) he said, Now I know of a truth that the Lord hath sent forth his angel and delivered me." verse 11.

Steadfastness in persecution and suffering is a condition of being counted worthy of the kingdom of God.[1] The inheritance is an "incorruptible crown," the result of a race well run in contradistinction to a "corruptible crown" attained, for example, by a Corinthian in athletic competition.[2] The eschatological resurrection is the mature fruit of the ethical resurrection which is wrought in Christ in the earthly life of the Christian. Paul speaks of God "who raiseth the dead, who delivered us out of so great a death, and will deliver; on whom we have set our hope that he will also deliver us."[3] The fact of moral resurrection is clearly a teaching of Paul. "And you being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you, I say, did he make alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses."[4] But this is not contraposed to the final "rising up" when the new kingdom of God is ushered in. It is rather a stage in which the later is the final process, for when "Christ who is our life shall be manifested then shall ye also with him

[1] II Thessalonians i, 5.

[2] I Corinthians ix, 25.

[3] II Corinthians i, 10.

[4] Colossians ii, 13; Ephesians ii, 5.

Note.—The terms "ethical and eschatological" are not used here as mutually exclusive, but rather complementary to indicate respectively a transformation in the religious life of an individual which may occur before the Parousia, and that final ripening of the process together with the startling world changes constituting the end of the age. Both, naturally, are the results of God's operation in the narrower and wider spheres, and may from that point of view be considered as moral happenings, but in default of a definite language technique the terms as above used may serve to mark this distinction.

be manifested in glory."[1] The presence of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men is the earnest or seal of the final deliverance.[2] "To the end that we should be unto the praise of his glory, we who had before hoped in Christ, . . . in whom having also believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is an earnest of our inheritance."[3] The glory (δόξα) which sums up in Paul's language, the characteristics of the heavenly σῶμα or life, also distinguishes, though in less degree, the present life. That progressive transformation into the likeness of Christ begun here and perfected after the Parousia is a point frequently stressed. "But we all with unveiled face, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed (μεταμορφούμεθα) into the same image (εἰκόνα) from glory to glory (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν)[4] "And be ye not fashioned according to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God."[5]

The opposition between the present and the future σῶμα given at length in I Corinthians xv, is applied to the present and future life in II Corinthians iv, 17, 18. The things of this world are "seen and temporal" (τὰ βλεπόμενα and πρόσκαιρα); the things of the future are not seen

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[1] Colossians iii, 4.
[2] II Corinthians i, 22.
[3] Ephesians i, 12-14.
[4] II Corinthians iii, 18.
[5] Romans xii, 2.

(τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα) and are eternal (αἰώνια). But still, as already emphasized, the character of the present life is a preparation for the future. "For our light affliction which is for the moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of glory." The recompense of the righteous who "by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and incorruption" is eternal life.[1] It is a "reign in life"[2] through Jesus Christ. It is a taking on of the likeness of his resurrection, conditioned upon being "united with him in the likeness of his death."[3] It is a glorification with him, heightened in contrast with present misery. "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us-ward."[4] In a word it is "the redemption of the body," which the apostle eagerly awaits. "And not only so, but ourselves also, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body."[5] The eschatological deliverance in which nature shares we well as human beings, is expressed by the antithesis of "The bondage of corruption" with the "liberty of the glory of the children of God."[6]

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[1] Romans ii, 6.
[2] Romans v. 17.
[3] Romans vi, 5.
[4] Romans viii, 17, 18.
[5] Romans viii, 23.
[6] Romans viii, 21.

If the future life then depending as it does upon the present relation of the individual to Christ, is summed up in such phrases as: a deliverance from wrath, salvation,[1] an eternal weight of glory, an incorruptible crown, our inheritance, honor and incorruption, eternal life, or simply life itself, what are the characteristics of the eschatological death? It does not imply merely death in the sense of the cessation of physical functions though inclusive of it. Neither can it be shown that Paul's statements argue for a theory of annihilation at the dissolution of the organism. Apocalyptic speculation treated extensively this question and interpreted death for the wicked as their continued existence in some part of Sheol or in Gehenna. It became "an eternal dying." "Ye shall be burned with torches the live-long day throughout the age."[2] It is an "eternal punishment" conceived by some of the seers as a perpetual separation from God,[3] as a "banishment from the face of the Lord of Spirits,"[4] or as the penalty of "not being remembered when the righteous are visited."[5] The souls of the wicked are portrayed as being slain in Sheol, yet this slaying is paraphrased as an existence of intense wretchedness. "Know ye that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol, and

[1] For discussion of this in its relation to δόξα and ζωή in Jewish Eschatology, see Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, Heil und Seligkeit, par. 44.

[2] Sib. Oracles, Proverbs iii, 44.

[3] Testament, Pats. T. R. iv, 6; v. 5.

[4] 1 Enoch, liii, 2.

[5] Psalms, Solomon, iii, 13, 14.

they will become wretched, and great will be their tribulation."[1] "And they shall weep and feel their pain forever."[2]

This is a phase of the question which Paul hesitates to discuss. He shows little of that exultation displayed by a Jew at a crisis of persecution over the spectacular punishment of his foes. It was regarded as one of the compensating privileges of the pious Jew that he might look down from his abode in Paradise upon the torment of his oppressors. Paul prefers to dwell more upon the happy lot of the righteous than upon the misfortunes of the wicked. But in the relatively few instances where he does describe the condition of the latter, it is nevertheless one of irreparable loss and disaster. The conception given in the Testaments of a lasting banishment from the face of the Lord is expressed in II Thessalonians. It consists of punitive suffering, even eternal destruction "from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of his might." It is a visitation of wrath, from which the righteous are delivered at the Parousia, as against the glory and honor of those who, by patience in well-doing, receive as their inheritance eternal life, the existence of the wicked is one of "tribulation and anguish."[3]

Further than this the apocalyptic speculation of the apostle does not extend.[4] The general

[1] I Enoch ciii, 8.
[2] Judith xvi, 17.
[3] Romans ii. 9.
[4] See Thesis, p. 149, for theory of Restoration.

tendency is to set death as the antipodal contrast to life without drawing minute pictures of the antithesis. The phrases epitomizing the distinction are in the most succinct manner placed in opposition; "The mind of the flesh, the mind of the spirit."[1] "The wages of sin, the free gift of God."[2] "Dead through trespasses and sins; being made alive together with Christ."[3] "Being separate from Christ . . . having no hope and without God in the world, being made nigh in the blood of Christ."[4]

The question now reverts again to the character of the future *σῶμα*. It was seen that in divesting it of flesh and blood, Paul diverged from a strongly marked traditional tendency, particularly Palestinian,[5] while he favored in one respect the Hellenistic interpretation. But this sweeping independence is illustrated by the exclusive use of the pneuma and the pneumatic body to designate the form of the eschatological life. Although he used psyche and pneuma, together with other concepts of non-apocalyptic connotation, as largely interchangeable, in general conformity with past and current speculation, still the future life of the Christian is invariably that of the pneuma, and never that of the psyche. The latter concept is, in one instance, applied to the wicked in the des-

[1] Romans viii, 6.
[2] Romans vi, 23.
[3] Ephesians ii, 1-5; Colossians ii, 13.
[4] Ephesians ii, 12-14.
[5] See Volz, op. cit. par. Materielle and Spirituelle Anschauung, for discussion of opposition between Palestinian and Alexandrian views.

cription of their punishment at the Parousia, but pneuma is never so employed, although earlier literature contains many examples of the torment of the pneumata of the wicked in Gehenna, just as there are as many examples, on the other hand, of the use of the psyche in the same connection. Similarly in the same writings the future bliss of the righteous is ascribed either to their psyche or pneuma. And also in the New Testament, in other than the Pauline documents, the eschatological usage of psyche is inclusive of both the wicked and the good.[1] But Paul strikes out in a new direction. In the command to the Corinthian church to expel the culprit who is guilty of incest he hopes by the destruction of the flesh "that the pneuma may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."[2] This troublesome passage has been accorded a great variety of exegesis. Some of the early fathers construed the phrase "delivering to Satan" as a synonym of excommunication, "but there is no proof that such a formula of excommunication existed either in the synagogue or the early church."[3] To some it implies the belief that the excommunication in the presence of the whole church, and accompanied as it was by the solemn utterance of the formula, would issue in physical affliction or possibly death to the offender; that is to say the magical effect of the pro-

[1] Compare Matthew x, 28; Luke xii, 19, 20; Hebrews x, 39; James i, 21; I Peter i, 9; Revelations vi, 9; xx, 4.

[2] I Corinthians v, 5.

[3] Expository Greek Testament, I Corinthians, Findlay, p. 809.

nouncement of a name is connected with the operation of a curse.[1] Compare the cases of Ananias and Elymas. Acts v, xiii.

But the reference to the hope of the ultimate salvation of the condemned person would involve that whatever afflictions might be visited upon him through Satan, the effect would be of a remedial character issuing possibly in the repentance and salvation of the culprit. The thorn in the flesh which afflicted Paul was regarded by him in the light of a salutary agency, even though it was a messenger of Satan.[2] In any case, the point to be noted here is that the actual salvation is conceived, in accordance with the rest of the apostle's teaching, as a property of the pneuma.

Then if this is the consistent Pauline usage of pneuma as the subject of the present and eschatological *σωτηρία*, may anything further be added that would furnish us with a concrete picture of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*? With the view of a catastrophic destruction of the world by fire, so marked a feature of apocalyptic, and the introduction of a completely new order at the Parousia, what earthly symbolism could be employed in the delineation of the pneumatic *σῶμα* transcendent in its very nature? Is there any description other than that indicated by such terms as incorruptible, immortal, spiritual, etc., which would suggest further delimitation? Or does the very fact of

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[1] Heitmuller, quoted by Clemen, Primitive Christianity, p. 233 E. T.

[2] II Corinthians xii, 7.

a catastrophic standpoint preclude such an inquiry at the outset? If the Parousia ushered in an eternal Messianic Kingdom upon the earth such as the prophets dreamed of, or even that which certain seers of the second century B.C. portrayed, then a great deal of description could still be couched in human and earthly terms. But this standpoint has in the outlook of Paul been superseded. The account of I Thessalonians would, unless the interpretation proceeds upon an extremely figurative basis, localize the resurrected ones in the clouds with Christ. The added qualification that they are to meet "in the air" is one that cannot be paralleled in Jewish literature,[1] though the notion of an ascent into the upper regions is quite common.[2] This general conception is also Pauline, for the new home or building is "eternal in the heavens," the latter phrase being in frequent employment, in apocalyptic, to denote the home of the soul or the spirit after the resurrection. Heaven is conceived as the abode of the angels, and is always pictured as above the earth, a place to which a spirit ascends in contrast to Sheol to which entrance is made by descent. Paul makes heaven the present home of Christ and the future home of Christians. "He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens that he might fill all things."[3] Here

[1] Expos. Greek Testament, Moffatt, I Thessalonians, p. 38.
[2] Expositor, Askwith, Eschatological Section of I Thessalonians, January, 1911, p. 67.
[3] Ephesians iv, 10.

indeed, Christ is pictured as being enthroned in a region even higher than the heavens; but in Philippians iii, 20 this qualification is not added. "For our citizenship is in heaven; whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ." Is it then possible to conclude from the symbols employed that when Paul spoke of the pneumatic σῶμα, the imagery present in his imagination possessed some of the characteristics of the human body in that it had shape, localization and other spatial features? The comparison of the souls or spirits of the righteous in the heavenly world to angels or stars is met with in other literature. "And time cannot age them, for they shall dwell in the heights of that world, and be like the angels, and be comparable with stars."[1] Cumont refers to the poems of Lucan and Statius where these writers addressing Nero and Domitian respectively ask the question as to what part of heaven will the Emperors inhabit after their apotheosis. "Will they mount on the flaming chariot of the Sun? Will they take their place as new stars among the constellations? Or even will Jupiter himself in the height of the heavens yield to them his sceptre?"[2] Moreover, theophanies and angelophanies figured largely in

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[1] Apoc. Baruch, li, 3-10.

[2] Astrology and Religion, p. 196.

Note.—See Plato's reference to the stars as living angelic souls. Timæus, Section 40, p. 533 (Jowett).

current speculation.[1] The belief that gods could assume human shape and appear on earth is evident in Acts xiv, where the people of Lystra declare with regard to the presence of Paul and Barnabas and their work among them: "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." And angels (see earlier discussion) possess certain human functions in that they may converse with men in language understood by the latter, become visible, and are clothed in apparel, the raiment being described as effulgent light, and the appearance likened to that of the sun or heavenly glory. Stephen's face at his martyrdom is "as it had been the face of an angel." An interesting illustration of this point is the statement of II Enoch xx, 1 ff, where the writer characterizes the "fiery troops" of heaven as consisting of "great archangels, incorporeal forces, dominions and orders," etc., some of them possessing many eyes, and "standing in stations of light," or on the "ten steps according to their range," living in "places of joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light." Gressmann and Bousset "believe that the white robe was originally, in the case of deities, a cultus representation of the luminous nature of their bodies." A statement in the Bundehesh runs as follows: "When through me (Ahura Mazda) the sky arose from the substance of the ruby, without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light,—when by me the sun and the moon

[3] Matthew xxviii, 2; Luke xxiv, 4; John xx, 12; Acts vi, 15; x, 30.

and stars are conducted in the firmament of luminous bodies, etc."[1]

But it is one thing to claim that when Paul uses such highly pictorial language as he does, the corresponding imagery might be an angelic or pneumatic being with certain properties of shape, light, and other human lineaments, and quite another matter to argue that had he entered further into the speculative description, he would have constructed a definite replica of the human body, differing from the latter indeed by its not possessing flesh and blood, but resembling it in form, and having a habitation even though it were in some non-terrestrial sphere. The evidence is altogether too scant for the conclusion that the eschatological soma was a sort of a "wraith of light," or an embodied though bloodless and fleshless apparition as a shade, familiar to many Jewish and Greek writings. The pictorial analogies of the apostle are a dangerous ground for such an interpretation. It is true that angels, and stars, and righteous spirits are often regarded as synonymous, but some caution must be exercised in committing oneself to such a declarative statement as that given by Weinel:—"Evidently Paul thought of himself and his contemporaries, Jew as well as Greek, dwelling in the glorious celestial bodies of the stars, call them

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[1] Quoted by Clemen, op. cit. p. 174.

Helios, or Semele, Azazel or Uriel."[1] The stars or the heavenly bodies[2] may have afforded him the best pictures available to express the hope of glory awaiting Christians in the Hereafter, but nevertheless his usual method in representing the pneumatic body is to refer it to the likeness of Christ,[3] but when we seek for precise description of this likeness of Christ, the regressus goes still further back to what is called the form or image of God. As illustrations of this, the following instances may be cited. "For if we have become united with him in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection";[4] "If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him;"[5] "For whom he did foreknow, he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son;"[6] "Who (Christ) shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory."[7] But to determine the character of the body of his glory we learn that Christ is the image (εἰκών) of God.[8] The "light of the knowledge of the glory of God" is in his face.[9] He is the image

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[1] St. Paul, p. 26.

[2] See Hibbert Journal, Article, Gilbert Murray, Oct., 1910, p. 20; for discussion of the deification of the sun, moon, and stars in Plato, Aristotle, and Stoics.

[3] Carré, Biblical World, Oct., 1916, p. 204.

[4] Romans vi, 5.

[5] Romans viii, 17.

[6] Romans viii, 29.

[7] Philippians iii, 21.

[8] II Corinthians iv, 4.

[9] II Corinthians iv, 6.

of the invisible God,[1] and pre-existed in the form (μορφή)* of God.[2] The terms which sum up the description are those of glory, radiance, power, and form etc. It is easy to see that to construct a more precise formula of definition is an impossible task. To take the instances where the phrases, "in the heavens, in the heavenly places, the image of the heavenly, above principalities and powers," and others occur, as indicating definite spatial properties, is confronted by the difficulty involved in the transference of simile from human beings to Christ and thence to God. It is true that when the Old Testament prophets tried to give a description of their vision of God, imagery implying symbolic localization is employed. Isaiah pictures God as "sitting upon a throne high and lifted up," while his glory fills the Temple.[3] Resplendent light, glowing metal and fire, thunderous noise and other awe-inspiring phenomena are the features of Ezekiel's vision. "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Yahweh."[4] The very circumlocution suggests the inadequacy of the symbols of portraiture. The picture has to do rather with the attendant circumstances of the Theophany. God himself is not regarded as being visible. The light and fire are his "manifestations," the effects

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[1] Colossians i. 15.
[2] Philippians ii. 6.
[3] Isaiah vi. 1.
[4] Ezekiel i. 28.
*See note on *μορφή* and kindred terms at end of chapter.

of his power. The more developed became the view which subsequently was designated as the Transcendence of God, the more insistent became the teaching that He could not be brought within the comprehension of human knowledge. "For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true God, the Immortal, whose abode is the Heaven?"[1] Especially is this so in the Alexandrian speculation. Philo's adjectives are:—"The Wise, The Divine, The Indivisible, The Undistributable."[2] In the Book of Wisdom, God works through Wisdom which is "an affluence from everlasting light."[3] Hence such expressions as "the invisible presence, the light encircling the throne, the Glory of the Great One, an insufferable blaze of light," are invariably the symbols to illustrate the unapproachable presence of God. Philo thus pictures heaven:—"An eternal day without night and without shadow, for it is lighted by inextinguishable and unalterably pure radiance."[4] In his description of Wisdom the very language he employs scarcely admits comparison with anything of the nature of physical light. It is true that he uses such phrases as a "vapor of the power of God, a pure emanation of the glory of the Omnipotent, a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the energy of God, and an image of his goodness." But he further adds, possibly to

[1] Sib. Orac. Pro. i, x, xi.
[2] Philo, i, 334.
[3] Wisdom, vii, 26.
[4] Works, vol. ii (De Josepho), p. 483.

prevent a literal construction, that "Wisdom is more comely than the sun, and above all the ordering of the stars; compared with light she is found preferable for this is succeeded by night, but against Wisdom evil has no power."[1] The Fourth Book of Ezra transcends even this. "Not mid-day or night or dawn, not gleam or brightness or shining, but wholly and alone the radiance of the glory of the Most High."[2] In the Ascension of Isaiah,[3] God and the Great Glory (ἡ μεγάλη δοξα) are synonyms. And also the pneumata of the righteous as of the angels are regarded as being clothed, though of course to a less degree, with the same effulgence. The monarchical conception of God had become so developed that even the highest angels are assigned positions prudently remote from the throne.[4] Enoch pictures God as surrounded by an impassable wall of fire and glory, so terrible that the nearest angels are not permitted to stand in his immediate presence nor even to see him,[5] but nevertheless, glory is the characteristic not only of God but of the heavenly host whether of angelic or human existences. Philo will only allow human shape to angelic and heavenly beings when these pneumatic existences appear upon the earth. "But it happens every now

[1] Drummond, Philo, vol. i, p. 217.

[2] vii, 42.

[3] x, 16; xi, 32.

[4] "Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, and (they) showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very High Throne." 2 Enoch xx, 3.

[5] I Enoch xii-xvi.

and then that on emergencies occuring, they have imitated the appearance of men, and transformed themselves so as to assume human shape." But in their native abode they are bodiless, "incorporeal, as living spirits destitute of any body."[1]

Now in Paul's treatment while he uses the hierarchical machinery with its allocations of positions and functions, his language is too figurative to demand a literal construction. It is true that the righteous pneumata have their homes in the heavenly places. That conception had become very prevalent in the century before Paul. It is present everywhere in the thought of Posidonius and his school. Cicero refers to it in his "Dream of Scipio." "The souls of those who have deserved immortality will not descend to the depths of the earth, they will rise again to the starry spheres."[2] Compare the Latin epitaph:— "My divine soul shall not descend to the shades; heaven and the stars have borne me away; earth holds my body, and this stone an empty name."[3] Paul certainly seizes hold of this belief, and adds that the righteous will become conformed to the εἰκών of Christ, but this must be construed in the light of the terms applied to Christ. "If then ye were raised together with Christ seek the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God."[4] "Which he wrought in Christ

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[1] Works, vol. iv, 334.
[2] Bevan, Stoics and Sceptics, p. 111.
[3] Quoted by Cumont, op. cit., p. 179.
[4] Colossians iii, 1.

when he raised him from the dead, and made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places far above all rule etc."[1] To rob the language of its metaphorical meaning, by fastening a prosaic literalism upon these clauses, collides at once with the more comprehensive Pauline expressions where Christ is conceived as "filling all in all," and as the one in whom the universe is created and sustained. Nothing is more perplexing than to try to assign the terms which Paul employs to a place in a definite philosophical scheme. If the investigation in his use of language discloses any conclusion at all, it is the fact that the fluid and popular usage is everywhere dominant. A given concept may not only be taken to cover quite a variety of properties, but these properties themselves may be designated by just as great a variety of terms. Paul gives no hint whatever that he possesses a technical equipment of scientific terminology. To take any term and begin to explore its etymology in the philosophical schools of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and then insist upon grounding its Pauline significance upon the original content, is as hazardous as to run back a nineteenth century refinement into the thought of the middle ages. The argument of derivation must reckon with the fact that the apostle, intimate as he was with the prophetic development of his race, and versed in the procedure of Rabbinical argumentation, yet

[1] Ephesians i, 20, 21.

quotes from the Old Testament in the language of the Septuagint, and thus brings to the formulation of his religious thought a mode of expression unknown to the very men who shaped Hebrew theology. And it is quite probable that over a century had intervened between the period of this translation and the time when Paul was borrowing its phrases. All these terms spirit, soul, image, form, body, flesh and others had been used in a technical vocabulary, but from there they had passed into popular employment to serve distinctions more concrete. Deissmann remarks:—"One might write the history of religion as the history of religious terms, or more correctly, one must apprehend the history of religious terms as being a chapter in the history of religion . . . The Greek Old Testament was no longer understood in the Imperial period as it was in the Ptolemaic period, and again, a pagan Christian in Rome naturally read it otherwise than a man like Paul . . . The men of the New Testament resembled the Alexandrian translators in bringing with them from their " profane surroundings, the most varied biblical elements of thought and speech."[1]

This pointed statement of Deissmann applies just as well to the development of any literature. The numerous shadings and transitions through which language passes, not only in philosophical developments, but also through popular media are

[1] Deissmann, Bible Studies, p. 79, E.T.

too well recognized to be challenged. This becomes all the more apparent when in the examination of the apostle's thought, the purely speculative tendency is seen to be a matter of merely passing consideration. It is true that, amidst so much of earthly suffering following in the wake of the new religious movement, that broke at once with Jewish prejudice and the demands of an imperial cult, Paul directed the hopes of Christians to a future painted in radiant colors, yet inasmuch as such a future was by its very nature transcendent and heavenly, the description had frankly to be clothed in the symbols of mysticism. No theological schematism in which doctrines of Sheol, Paradise, Heaven and Hell, and of the σῶμα and πνεῦμα are elaborately systematized can be discovered in the epistles. The apostle has none of the speculations of Stoic naturalism, where the body, for example, is defined as that which acts or is acted upon. Such categories as active, passive, efficient cause, or such definitions as:—"Body is that which is capable of extension in three dimensions,"[1] are not included at all within his religious horizon. His method is not that of a theorist who wishes to construct a view of the universe that might satisfy a logical test, but that of a missionary who brought a practical ingenuity to bear upon the multifarious moral and social needs that grew in proportion to the expansion of his churches, and demanded sometimes imme-

[1] Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean, p. 23.

diate adjustments. Solutions could never be given in abstracto. They had to shape themselves in accordance with situations of a definitely local character, and it is quite conceivable that in matters of provincial or racial concern, a Jew might readily dismiss a solution that would satisfy a Greek, or a Phrygian accept what a Roman would summarily reject.

But when the apostle having, however successfully, done his best to meet such contingencies, applied himself to his great soteriological task of making known what he designated as the riches of God in Christ to the heterogeneous classes that made up the Græco-Roman populations of his time, he stated his case with definiteness and lucidity. And to accomplish this, he adopted the customs, modes of thought and phraseology native to the peoples amongst whom he labored. His language therefore would have more in common with current vernacular than with the terms of academies and eclectic circles. The figures of speech, the striking similes, the illuminating illustrations that light up the epistles are a lasting monument to his skill in driving home a message as they reflect the range of his intellectual insight, and practical sagacity. His burning ethical exhortations place under tribute the whole field of Jewish, Roman and Greek Metaphor. The institution of slavery afforded him not only the basis of an appeal for a more humane and considerate relationship between a δοῦλος and his master,

but also helped to throw into relief the more radical serfdom of sin as opposed to that liberty which is the birthright of the heir of God and joint heir with Christ. From the pursuit of agriculture he took the figure of sowing and reaping, of germination and increase, of carelessness and diligence in husbandry, of the plough and the ox-goad, to set forth the law of harvest in the moral life, and the struggles involved in the old and new methods of salvation in the process of his own conversion. From the splendor of the sun, the moon and the stars, he tried to illustrate the radiance that would characterize the transcendent life of the pneuma and its organism. From the magnificent temple of Herod, from the Pantheon, and from the structures in the great Greek and Roman cities which, however costly and resplendent, would perish with the changes of time, he could direct the vision of his converts to an eternal temple not made with hands. From the stadium, the race-meet and the gymnasium he could illustrate how a Christian *agon* might be fought and won, how a race if well run would receive a laurel still more honorable than the fading wreath of wild olive placed on the brow of an athlete, and how in the match with the adversaries not of flesh and blood a moral mastery might be achieved. From the garrison in a Roman barracks, from the soldiers on parade, and on the battlefield he could turn to the breastplate of faith and love, to the armor of righteousness,

to the helmet of salvation, to the sword of the spirit, and indicate how necessary to the Christian were the watchful vigil, the martial steadfastness, and the iron discipline that he might endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. And indeed the great spectacle which, perhaps above all others, impressed most the imagination of Rome together with that of her subject peoples, namely, the historic pageant which periodically moved along the Via Sacra in honor of a returning conqueror, became the grand allegory by which Paul described the immortal triumph of Christ over all his adversaries. No one could fail to catch the apostle's meaning when such well-known symbols were harnessed to the strong ethical messages of his life. The discussion of the terms shows that he was not employing a rigid technique of anthropology. A clearly schematised system of concepts was not essential to his propaganda any more than it was to the preaching of the Hebrew prophets.[1] Provided that a term had sufficient distinctness in a given instance to serve in the enforcement of an appeal, a warning, or a rebuke, or a message of comfort, it satisfied the needs of the case. The fact that in another situation, or in another environment, such a term might have a content seemingly opposed to a former usage, when considered as entering into a problem of abstract classification, was of little moment as long as the present ethical issue

[1] Expositor, Ramsay, Article, The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day, July, 1912, p. 91.

was met. Difficulties would probably arise when later exegesis began to operate upon the problems of analysis.

Note.—It is difficult to discover the precise significance of such terms as Paul uses, in the general Jewish and Greek literature. The word (εἰκών) in Hebrews is contrasted with (σκιά). "For the law having a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things."[1] The word (χαρακτήρ) is used in the same epistle to shew the relation of Christ to God. "The very character of His substance" (τῆς ὑποστάσεως).[2] It is the same term which Philo uses of the resemblance of the Logos to God. "But the great Moses has not named the species of the rational soul by a title resembling that of any created being, but has pronounced it an image of the divine and invisible being, making it a coin, as it were, of sterling metal, stamped and impressed with the seal of God, the impression of which is the eternal logos."[3] The term (μορφή) together with expressions like ἐνδύεσθαι, τέλειος might, according to Clemen, "be borrowed from the language of the Mysteries." In the Hermetic literature the Primal man is called the μορφή of God. But Clemen adds: "Only the expressions, 'Ye put on Christ,' and 'We have become united with Christ' . . . might ultimately be traced to the belief . . . that the participant in the rites is physically united with the Deity."[4]

The term (μορφή) is the Septuagint translation for the following italicised words in Daniel:—"Then the king's *countenance* was changed in him";[5] in Job:—"A *form* was before mine eyes";[6] in Wisdom[7]:—"And the Egyptians hearing their voice, but not seeing their *form*, envied them because they had not suffered," and in IV Maccabees[8]:—"We stamp a marvellous likeness of our soul and of our *shape* on the tender nature of the child."

Lightfoot has examined the expressions in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and other earlier Greek writers, and found the following distinctions: σχῆμα denotes the figure, shape or fashion of a thing." It is used of "dress, costume, or sometimes of attitude or demeanour." It signifies, moreover, "pomp, display, outward circumstance, and frequently semblance, pretence, as opposed to reality, but . . . altogether it suggests the idea of something changeable, fleeting, unsubstantial. μορφή has none of "these secondary senses which attach to σχῆμα, as gesture, or dress, or parade, or pretext . . .

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[1] x, 1.

[2] i, 3.

[3] Works, vol. i, p. 420.

[4] Op. cit., p. 158, 232.

[5] v, 6.

[6] iv, 16.

[7] xviii, 1.

[8] xv, 4.

The σχῆμα is often an accident of the μορφή." Again, that "great and entire change of the inner life, otherwise described as being born again, being created anew, is spoken of as a conversion of μορφή always, of σχῆμα never." When Paul speaks of this change either in the present ethical, or in the future eschatological sense, μορφή in its many forms is used. "Being made conformable (συμμορφιζόμενος) to his death."[1] "We are transformed μεταμορφούμεθα into the same image."[2] "Until Christ be formed (μορφωθῇ) in you."[3] "That it may be conformed σύμμορφον to the body of his glory."[4] Referring to the μορφή of God, Lightfoot contends that "it is used in a sense substantially the same which it bears in Greek philosophy." Quoting Aristotle, he says, "it is the essence corresponding to the definition (ἡ οὐσία ἡ κατὰ τὸν λόγον) or the definition of the essence (ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) or again the actuality (ἐνέργεια), or the perfection (ἐντελέχεια). The significance of his μορφή or εἶδος will appear also from the fact that he elsewhere identifies it with the final clause (τέλος). . . . The speculations of Alexandrian and Gnostic Judaism formed a ready channel, by which the philosophical terms of Ancient Greece were brought within reach of the apostles of Christ."[5]

But it might be claimed in reply that these terms, whatever be their original philosophical significance in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, having passed into popular usage, would obviously lose much of that precision attending scientific definition. "The criticism of the early Christian epistles must not leave out of account the considerations which are to be deduced from the history of ancient epistolography . . . The exegesis of the letters of Paul must take its special standpoint from the nature of the letter. Its task is to reproduce in detail the apostle's sayings as they have been investigated in regard to the particular historical occasions of their origin, as phenomena of religious psychology."[6] To a priest engaged in the ritual of a mystery cult the term (μορφή) might indicate the "hidden process" by which an initiate was supposed to attain immortality by becoming a god, but even here the esoteric character of such a rite with the consequent penalties imposed for violation of the vows of secrecy makes it difficult to know what this metamorphosis implied. Paul's restraint in laying bare the details of the process of σωτηρία, his aversion to refined theological technique, leaves the philosophical meaning of the terms a matter of pure conjecture. The term (εἰκών) or (μορφή), since either was in the popular vocabulary, would do to express the moral likeness of a man renewed in Christ to his master, or again the extreme contrast between Christ's pre-existent state of glory with His earthly life of humiliation.

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[1] Philippians iii, 10.

[2] II Corinthians iii, 18.

[3] Galatians iv, 19.

[4] Philippians, iii, 21.

[5] Philippians, p. 127 ff.

[6] Deissmann, Bible Studies, p. 57.

CHAPTER VI.

PAUL'S TREATMENT OF THE CONCEPTS—THE PAROUSIA, THE MESSIANIC AGE, AND THEIR APOCALYPTIC ACCOMPANIMENTS.

THE question now to be investigated concerns the extent to which this eschatological background of Jewish thought, as summarized in the Tables, is reflected in the Pauline letters, which by general agreement represents the earliest literature of the Christian community. How much of the speculation of the two centuries preceding his time has been taken over as fixed tradition, how much rejected, and wherein, if at all, have advances been made upon the inherited body of apocalyptic faith, as the apostle wrestled with the complicated problems emerging throughout a history of thirty active years? It is true that many important events which must have had a critical bearing upon the thought of Paul do not find a place within the analytic scheme here presented, the most important obviously being the life and teaching of Jesus, but as the records in any form accessible to us, even the earliest of them, which chronicle such events are believed to have been committed to writing at a period later than the final letters of Paul, an exhaustive study of their

data on the eschatological side need not be regarded as a necessary preliminary task. This fact is all the more evident when it is seen that it is precisely in the field of eschatology that tradition is formed and accumulated. References to the Synoptic accounts will be made as occasion requires.

It has been seen that Hebrew and Judaistic literature painted in high color the crisis of the "latter days," and the inauguration of "The Kingdom." Speculation varied as to the role which the Messiah should perform. Often, as in Joel, the Assumption of Moses and II Enoch, he was not mentioned at all. Sometimes, as in I Enoch 83-90, he was regarded as merely introducing the new Age, while the great upheavals and transformations were assigned directly to God. In the later developments he became more prominent. But the emphasis upon the startling accompaniments of the End, the changes in world-history, the nature of retribution and the future fortunes of the righteous and wicked is fairly uniform.

I Thessalonians.

The first epistle to the Thessalonians breaks in upon this literature about the beginning of the second half of the first Christian century, and stands at the very threshold of Paul's literary activities. The church at Thessalonica had been founded in the second missionary journey. Paul had moved on to Corinth and while there, Timothy, who had a little time before been sent

to Athens to minister to the Thessalonians had now returned with the report of his work, and his message of their faith and love occasioned the epistle. Both Acts[1] and this epistle indicate that at least one feature of the apostle's teaching had been eschatological. As the whole history of Judaism shows, one of the main springs of apocalyptic was the fact of persecution. The promise of deliverance shone most brightly when faith was being keenly tested in the crucible of bitter oppression, and the Jew had learned that his only hope lay in God's decisive intervention at the close of this æon.[2] No epistle of Paul shows so clearly as this one the kinship of view-point which he had with his race. Distress and affliction had visited the new church and to establish them in their faith their hopes are directed towards the events of the End. The persecutors who had filled out "the measure of their sins" were soon to be overwhelmed by a catastrophic judgment. "The wrath is come upon them to the uttermost."[3] The phrase, *ἡ ὀργή ἡ ἐρχομένη*, ever upon the lips of a seer in troublous times is in prominent use here.[4] The

The Parousia and accompaniments.

[1] Acts xviii, 5.

[2] This hope was not confined to the Jews. "The idea of a new era, of a fresh start in universal history, has sunk deep into the heart of mankind. Sometimes, it is presented as the return of a weary world to the happy innocence of a far-distant past, sometimes, as a deliverance from the intolerable evils of a worn-out state of society, but always as a consummation devoutly to be wished and heralded with eager anticipation." Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean, p. 33.

[3] I Thessalonians ii, 16.

[4] 1, 10.

wicked are to be destroyed by it; the righteous are to be saved from it. The Messianic kingdom is to appear but it is to belong to the coming age (ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων), not to the present (ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος). The one exhortation to his converts is that they "should walk worthily of God" that He might establish their "hearts unblameably in holiness" till the coming of the End.[1]

Paul's divergences from earlier and contemporary views.

Several divergences, however, from contemporary apocalyptic emerge in the epistle. The first is the position assigned to Jesus in the fulfilment of the Hope. In previous Messianic descriptions,[2] allusions to the Messiah were of the most covert and figurative character. Wherever special treatment of his lineage is given, the descent is of course traced to the Davidic House, except in a few writings of the Maccabæan times, where the tendency was to place the Levitical priesthood in the ascendency over the monarchy. But as a rule it is the nature of the kingdom established that is the significant fact, and the references to the Messiah concern rather his office and work than his historical character as an individual. Paul, on the other hand, introduces Jesus as the Messiah—the Christ, and makes his Parousia coincident with the end of the age that now is. His preaching as recorded in Acts up to the time of this epistle had borne

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[1] iii, 13.

[2] Lake, Earlier Epistles of Paul, p. 393. Driver, Ideals of the Prophets, p. 168 ff. Fairweather, Background of the Gospels, p. 277.

upon that point. The records of Acts show him controverting the Jews at Damascus proving "that this is the Christ." ix, 22. His historical character is emphasized by the emphasis upon his lineage from David which Paul affirms to be in accordance with Scripture. "Of this man's seed hath God according to promise brought unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." xiii, 23. He was condemned by his countrymen led by the rulers in Jerusalem and slain, xiii, 27, 28. And at Thessalonica in express terms, he "reasoned with them from the Scriptures, opening and alleging that it behooved the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, and that this Jesus, whom said he 'I proclaim' unto you is the Christ." xvii, 2, 3.

The Messiahship of Jesus.

This epistle is, in part, a reiteration of that statement. Jesus is the Messiah of "deliverance from the coming wrath." The church has been commended because they had "turned unto God from idols," and were waiting "for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus who delivereth us from the wrath to come."[1] His coming accompanied by his saints is the stimulus of their watchful fidelity.[2]

Nowhere in Jewish literature prior to this period is there the remotest conception of a Messiah whose career upon earth is cut short by death, especially a death so loaded with calumny

[1] I Thessalonians i, 10.
[2] ii, 19; iii, 13; iv, 18; v, 23.

as that of crucifixion instigated by the religious leaders of his own nation. The sections in 4th Ezra which alone in this literature make cursory allusion to his death are supposed to be the result of late Christian reaction, and even here the brevity of the treatment might argue for the repulsiveness of the view to Jewish minds, and a desire to dismiss it summarily. Besides, the incident is mentioned in such a way as to give the impression that his death is an end of peace after a reign of four hundred years. Neither was the conception of a suffering Messiah a very widespread one amongst Jewish writers. The casual references found in Rabbinical Judaism are supposed to be quite late. In the dialogue between Justin and Trypho—a work of the second century A.D.—the latter as the representative of Rabbinism admits that suffering would form a part of the Messiah's career when he appeared, but death and especially death by crucifixion is never admitted for a moment. The 53rd chapter of Isaiah was by many authorities interpreted Messianically but only indisputably in the second century after Christ. Schürer claims that the atoning sufferings of death cannot be found in any of the remains of Rabbinical thought.[1] "In

Discussion of a suffering Messiah.

[1] Schürer Jewish people in the time of Christ 11, 11, p. 187 E. T.

Cf. O. Holtzmann—"The later Jewish conception is that the Messiah will suffer along with his suffering people, but even later Judaism is ignorant of a Messiah suffering through his people. "Life of Jesus," p. 334 (Black). So Dalman, Words of Jesus, p. 265, E. T.

The idea of suffering and death introduced by Paul into the Concept.

not one of the numerous works discussed by us have we found the slightest allusion to an atoning suffering of the Messiah. . . . Accordingly, it may be be well said that it was on the whole one quite foreign to Judaism in general." The pageant of his appearance is elsewhere never curtailed in its brilliancy by an ineffective conquest of those who would oppose his reign. His enemies are slain by the word of his mouth as thoroughly as by his sword, and wherever, the temporary character of his reign is admitted, his return to heaven is scarcely less clothed with the signs of power than his original advent to earth. But in view of the apostles, the persecution and death of the Messiah in the person of Jesus is as clear a point as his exaltation. Galatians iii, 13, shows that he was familiar with the Deuteronomic curse,—"He that is hanged is the curse of God," and applies it to Jesus in his argument there. The preaching of Paul is one with that of the primitive apostles on that score. "Ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay," is the charge of Peter (Acts ii, 23). "Who (the Jews) both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets," is the declaration of Paul (I Thessalonians ii, 15).

The reference to the identification of the enemies of God with the persecuting Jews can scarcely be said to be new in content. Hitherto, the apostate Jews had come in for their full share of condemnation from their pious countrymen,

especially such Jews as had cleared the way for the introduction of Hellenism into the religious practices of the nation. Daniel, Enoch, and others had vehemently denounced such treachery to Jewish faith.[1] The departure in this epistle consists rather in the changed character of the crime. The crucifixion of Jesus, and the persecution of his followers constitute the grand apostasy on the part of the Jews, and what is scarcely less culpable in the eyes of Paul, their rooted antagonism to the idea that the Gentiles are to be included within the salvation of God.[2]

The Parousia in I Thessalonians.

Again, in the interval between the apostle's preaching at Thessalonica and Timothy's return, a difficulty had arisen in the minds of the converts causing them much concern. The hope of the Parousia as it was taught had satisfied their perplexities in as far as it related to the fortunes of those who were still alive. It had apparently not included in its scope those of their brethren who had died, and the bereavement of death had raised the question as to the fate of the Christian dead. The departed had lived in the hope of the blessedness of the Parousia. Had death destroyed that hope, and was the triumph to be a possession only of the survivors? A new and pressing situation demanded some kind of a solution, and to meet it Paul in the 4th chapter has to add certain elements to his eschatology. Judaism had given

[1] Dan. ix, xii, En. XC.
[2] ii, 15, 16.

such wide currency to the doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous, that Paul would have little difficulty in explaining his message, at least in places where the synagogue had been established. But distinctions had been drawn between the condition of the living and the dead at the Parousia, to the advantage of the former. "Blessed is he that waiteth," is the comment of Daniel, xii, 12. "Happier are those that remain than those that are dead" is the passage in Ezra. (Ezra xiii, 24). The Thessalonians were undoubtedly familiar with the contrast, but the conception is reversed by the reassuring words of Paul. "We that are alive that are left unto the coming of the Lord shall in no wise precede those that are fallen asleep, . . . and the dead in Christ shall rise first." The freedom of Paul in handling traditional data may possibly be seen here. The solution found already to hand was not sufficient to meet the needs of the case, and apocalyptic was simply made to adjust itself to the intellectual embarrassments presented. The phrase "by the word of the Lord" might indicate that he was using as authoritative a saying of Jesus known to him, or in view of the fact that the phrase has nothing corresponding to it in the Gospels, it may express his conviction that the answer which he was giving was a part of what he terms "the revelation of Jesus" (Galatians i, 12).

Accompaniments.

The moment that the apostle after satisfying the Thessalonians upon their main point of anxiety, attempted to give a further scenic

elaboration of the Parousia event, he availed himself of the same imagery which runs abundantly through the Old Testament, the Inter-Testament and the Gospel literature. The Theophany of Exodus xix, is placed in such a setting. Yahweh is represented as descending upon Mount Sinai in the midst of thunders and lightnings and fire, while the "voice of a trumpet exceeding loud" summons Israel to the Mount. The dispersed Israelites in Isaiah xxvii, 13, return to Palestine at the same signal. The clouds of heaven, consuming fire, loud noise, appearances of angels, or archangels are factors constantly depicted as featuring the presence of God at critical times amongst his people, and particularly constituting the accompaniments of the end of the present world.[1] Oriental eschatology,[2] as a whole, was continually developing this lurid background and Paul's treatment is but a clipping from the picture. "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of an archangel and with the trump of God." (iv, 16).

Apocalyptic Imagery pronounced in this Epistle.

It seems that the apostle took it for granted that the Thessalonians would not be seriously

[1] Numbers x, 9; Zechariah xiv, 5; Psalms civ, 3; Isaiah lxvi, 15; Daniel vii, 13; x, 13; xii, 1; Matthew xxiv, 30 ff; xxvi, 64; Revelations viii, 2; xii, 7.

[2] "Israel's, however, was not the earliest literature to develop apocalyptic. Without attempting to discuss any views as to the actual contact of the two systems of thought, and the influence of one upon the other, we may note the fact that centuries before the earliest Jewish writings of this kind, Zarathustra was expressing in difficult but quite unmistakable language the conceptions (eschatological) I have described." Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, p. 154.

Time—Its sudden and stealthy character.

exercised over the precise time of the event. With the situation cleared as to the fate of their departed, "the times and the seasons" mattered little, for if death should in the future claim further members of their community, the consoling argument still applied. As for the living, the stealthy and sudden character of the Day of the Lord need have no terrors, for their attitude of prayerful watching, with their life of soberness and faith was the great safeguard of preparation. "But ye brethren are not in darkness that that day should overtake you as a thief, . . . so then let us not sleep as do the rest but let us watch and be sober." v, 4-6.

Nevertheless, that admonition of Paul did not have the effect desired. The belief in the nearness of the Parousia had, amongst some of the members, resulted in a growing sense of restlessness and in the neglect of the ordinary duties of life. The question of "the times and seasons" had proved a favorite theme of speculation for the late Judaism. Prophetic eschatology had remained satisfied with merely announcing the nearness of the Day, usually associating it with the expected collapse of foreign powers at the height of their hostility towards Israel. "It is near at hand" summed up, in general, this phase of the expectation.[1] But in the Syrian period the indefiniteness of the date failed to satisfy the feverish demand for

[1] Volz. Jüdische Eschatologie, 162 ff. A. B. Davidson, Old Testament Prophecy, p. 353.

retribution. The cry —"How long, how long, O Lord?" became more intense with the heightening of the persecution, and the seers set themselves the task of preparing exact answers. It was not sufficient to synchronize the end with the break-up of the Syrian empire. Greater exactitude was required and the less defined predictions of prophecy became elaborated into the more precise formulations of apocalyptic.

The first epistle then, in accordance with apocalyptic utterances had declared the imminent approach of the Parousia. The predictions of Joel and Daniel were familiar to the apostle as well as to many of his converts. But that the great event might be circumscribed within the lifetime of Paul did not necessitate a knowledge of the week or the month. Neither the day nor the hour was fixed. The synoptic tradition[1] reveals the tendency amongst the disciples of Jesus to shorten the interval, and it became evidently necessary for Jesus to abate somewhat their excited eagerness.[2] The second Thessalonian epistle indeed still adheres to the main features of the first, and is in harmony with current thought inasmuch as the ἀποκαλύψις would ensure the complete destruction of oppressors and the "glorification of saints." It was to be a "revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with

II Thessalonians.

[1] The Gospel entered the world as an apocalyptical, eschatological message, apocalyptical and eschatological not only in its form, but also in its content. Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. I, p. 58.

[2] Mark xiii, 32.

the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God." I Thessalonians 7-8. The feverishness of the hope, however, was allayed by the fact that certain preliminary omens which, as shown in the outlook of Judaism must anticipate the Parousia, had not yet taken place, and the second chapter of the second epistle contains the outline of that development. The man of lawlessness (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας) will make his appearance, and will be guilty of the blasphemous attempt to exalt himself against every deity that is worshipped. For a time the evil power will be checked in his operations by some opposing agency until when the latter has been removed, he will break out again in violence causing great havoc and disaster. His dominance, however, will be of short duration, for at the Parousia he will be slain by "the breath of the Lord."

A certain development to precede Parousia.

It is not easy to determine the exact nature of this ἀποστασία. In the Septuagint the word is used to indicate a rebellion against the power of God (Joshua xxii, 22, Jeremiah ii, 19) and in I Maccabees ii, 15, to characterize the defection of the Jews from their national religion beneath the cruel pressure of Antiochus Epiphanes. Its usage is predominantly religious rather than political both in Biblical and Judaistic writings.[1] In this epistle it is evidently of religious significance. Its most striking fea-

[1] Meyer's Comm. Thessalonians p. 596.

ture is the appearance of an Antichrist who is to stand as the arch-opponent of God. This conception was prevalent in eastern thought. It is believed by Gunkel, Zimmern and others to have had its origin in the Babylonian myth of the fight between Tiamat, the dragon, and the god Marduk where the dragon is for a time conquered in the struggle, yet reappears at the end of the world to renew the war in which he becomes irretrievably crushed.[1] The myth[2] is supposed to have been taken over into Jewish literature with modifications. The Old Testament gradually began to form the tradition of a terrific conflict between the heathen forces of the world and Yahweh. The picture was completed with the account of the overthrow and destruction of this evil agent.[3] The best known illustration of this conception of Antichrist is found in Daniel. There he is identified with Antiochus (Daniel xi, 36 ff). In the Psalms of Solomon, Pompey is represented as the great embodiment of sin and violence. Other writings show the prevalence of the belief in the rise of a mighty foe under the name of Beliar. Both the language and thought of Paul contains much of this view-point. Imagery supplied by tradition is borrowed to characterize this ἀποστασία. While the interpretation of this

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[1] Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 114 ff. Cf. Bousset, Der Antichrist, p. 123.

[2] "A myth which is found to exist in the lore of many peoples, Phoenician, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, Greek, South American, etc." Oesterley, Evolution of the Messianic Idea, p. 59.

[3] Psalms ii, xciii. Zechariah xii-xiv.

section is not without its difficulties yet it may be safe to assume that just as the earlier descriptions, however allegorically applied, yet referred invariably to nations and individuals who were "filling up the cup of their iniquity," so here some historical situation is implied. The "man of lawlessness" most easily applies to persecuting Jews, though in Paul's mind there may well have been some outstanding leader of this persecution. No opposition that faced Paul was more deserving of the epithet than that which came from his own countrymen. They had followed him from place to place with relentless bitterness. In the first epistle he charges them with having killed Jesus and the prophets, and having brought upon themselves the wrath of God to the uttermost. They had once been the people of God; hence the logic of the term, ἀποστασία, and the fitness of the title applied.

The systematic destruction of the disciples of Jesus was nevertheless impossible under the established order of the empire. Jewish hatred could only show its hostility in sporadic outbursts. The restraining power (τὸ κατέχον) probably indicates the Roman empire standing as it did for law and order.[1] This is supported by the experience of Paul in his journeys, where, in the rabid attacks made upon him by the Jews, the authority of Rome had been invoked in his defence. The allusion to the removal of the restraining hand is not adequately explained. It can only

[1] Sabatier, L'apôtre Paul, p. 104.

be suggested that since the time of Augustus the empire began its course of decay here and there revealing its inherent weakness in the character of a ruler such as Caligula, and Paul may reasonably have anticipated a hasty dissolution. That such a fall was expected and that it would be thereupon succeeded by the general breaking-up of the present world order is also indicated in the literature of the first century A.D., the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch making the destruction of Rome—the fourth kingdom of Daniel—the immediate sign of the End.

A stretch of four or five years intervenes between Second Thessalonians and First Corinthians. The Epistle to the Galatians had probably been written during the second missionary journey, but as the great conflict with the Judaizing party upon the question of law and freedom absorbed the whole treatment, no further facts as to Paul's eschatological position are disclosed. Just as in the Thessalonian letters the fact of the expected Parousia* was assumed without

I Corinthians.

Note.—The word Parousia is found fairly frequently in classical Greek, and is used to indicate the actual or expected arrival of some important person. "Having taken Byzantium on his former visit" (*Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσιᾳ*). Thuc. i, 128.[1] Further, certain papyri use the word in a technical sense concerning the official visit of a ruler or his ambassador. The Jewish apocrypha make very sparing use of the term, but when so used it has the same meaning as above; e.g., Judas Maccabæus refers to the immediate approach of Nicanor (*τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου* II Macc. viii, 12. In the Testaments it refers to the manifestation of God upon earth (*ἕως παρουσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης* Judah xxii, 3). In Paul it is the usual term for the advent of Jesus at the final judgment, and thus the old term and its main content are here retained but applied to Jesus of Nazareth.

[1] Milligan, Paul, Thessalonians, p. 146.

Parousia still expected.

debate—only the nature and time of the event being subject to extended discussion—so in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, it is taken for granted. No reasons are advanced in proof of the Parousia. It is rather used as an accepted argument to show the need of righteousness of action in view of coming judgment. It is variously characterized—"The revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ" (i, 7), "the day of the Lord (Jesus) Christ" (i, 8), "The day" (iii, 13), "The day of the Lord (Jesus)" (v, 5), "The ends of the ages" (x, 11). Its main content is that of judgment, and the thoroughness of the test to which human character is put. Fire is the symbol which is again applied. "Each man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it because it is revealed in fire" (iii, 13). "Wherefore judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the heart" (iv, 5).[1] The judgment which is to be upon the world including men and angels is effected not only by the Messiah,[2] but also by the saints (vi, 2). This thought was a familiar one in Jewish tradition. In Daniel,[3] at the appearance of the Ancient of Days, "judgment was given to the saints of the Most High," and in the Wisdom of Solomon the souls of the

[1] Cf. Matthew xix, 28. Luke xxii, 30.
[2] Matthew xxv. Acts xvii, 31.
[3] vii, 22.

righteous share in this Messianic function.[1] That the apostle has practically the same view concerning the nearness of the Parousia, as he had in the earlier epistles of the Thessalonians, is evident from the seventh chapter. Persecution, ever a sign of the hastening end was afflicting his church. "I think therefore, that this is good by reason of the distress that is upon us, that it is good for a man to be as he is" (verse 26). "But this I say brethren, the time is shortened, that henceforth both those that have wives may be as though they had none, . . . and those that use the world as not using it to the full, for the fashion of this world passeth away" (29-31). It would seem that the advice was based not merely upon the shortness of the interval but also upon the nature of the new kingdom ushered in by the Parousia, a kingdom which according to certain phases of current tradition did not admit of these earthly relationships. "The sons of this world marry and are given in marriage, but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, . . . neither marry nor are given in marriage, . . . for they are equal to the angels." Luke xx, 34-36. Cf. also Matthew xxii, 30; Mark xii, 25. It is possible that the question may have been raised by a celibate sect in Corinth or by an ascetic party formed in reaction to the Corinthian licentiousness.[2] In any case, it seems likely that the present

Interval is short.

[1] iii, 7, 8.
[2] Lake, The earlier epistles of Paul, p. 81 (Rivingtons.)

earth with its numerous ties and cares—"The things of this world" (vii, 34) appeared as of secondary interest in the light of the momentous changes which were imminent.

Time.

The great Resurrection chapter reaffirms his belief that the Day will come within the life-time of many to whom he writes, and probably within his own, for in addition to the change which the dead undergo when "this corruptible shall put on incorruption," a corresponding transformation takes place in the case of the living. "We shall not all sleep but we shall all be changed" (verse 51).[1]

Possible change in the concept of Parousia.

This particular phase of the expectation seems, in the opinion of Charles, to go through some modification in the second epistle. The connection of the Parousia with judgment, and with Christ as Judge, together with the fact that judgment is based upon the life on earth is still invariable, but it looks as if the apostle had serious misgivings as to his former time-view, and expected not so much the dissolution of his body before the "manifestation of Christ," as the immediate passage at death from this earthly condition to the resurrection life. Death is indeed in his own case a possibility. The turbulent riots at Ephesus[2] narrated in the 19th chapter of Acts

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[1] See further discussion under σῶμα.

[2] "But in that hour of the peril of death at Ephesus, the apostle had been obliged to look the possibility of death straight in the face and in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians the prospect of death occupies him very deeply." Weinel, Paul, p. 381.

which probably occurred between the writing of the two epistles may have led the apostle to think that such violent persecution might at any time end fatally for him. Nevertheless, this is not the point emphasized. The expectation, as stated on page 86, rather takes on the form of an abandonment of the Jewish view of an intermediate state, and in place of it the hope of a "building of God" following direct upon the passing away of the earthly tabernacle.[1] In any case the change of outlook is not stated with declarative certainty, as the apostle would seem to admit the possibility of the standpoint of Thessalonians towards the end of the section. "Whether also we make it our aim, whether at home or absent to be well-pleasing to him."

The letter to the Romans lays greater stress upon the retributive character of the judgment. It is a "day of wrath and revelation of the **Romans.** righteous judgment of God who will render to every man according to his works, to them that by patient well-doing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life, but unto them that are factious and obey not the truth, ... wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish" (ii, 5-9). It is a day "when God shall judge the secrets of men" (ii, 16). Whether Paul's expectation here refers to his lifetime or subsequent thereto is not perfectly clear. The 11th verse of the 8th chapter might be interpreted to lengthen **Time.**

[1] Findlay, I Corinthians, Expos. Greek Testament, p. 940.

the interval beyond his death. "But if the spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall give life also to your mortal bodies through his spirit that dwelleth in you." The 13th chapter, 11-13 goes back to First Thessalonians: "And this, knowing the season, that already it is time for you to awake out of sleep, for now is salvation nearer to us than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand."

Time.

Colossians.

There are no data in Colossians to determine the modifications, if any, in this aspect of the apostle's conceptions since writing Romans. The hope laid up "in the heavens" is still held out to his readers:—"When Christ who is our life shall be manifested, then shall ye also with him be manifested in glory," but the nearness or remoteness of its realization is not discussed.

Ephesians.

Ephesians has sometimes been cited as an instance of Paul's rejection of the Parousia hope, and of a newly arisen belief in an indefinitely long continuance of the present earth. Bruce, for example, thinks that "a trace of the conception of a protracted Christian era may be discovered in the words of Ephesians iii, 21; 'To him be glory in the church, and in Christ Jesus unto all the generations of the age of the ages.'"[1] But, on the other hand, "the idea of the Parousia may be behind all, the age (ὁ αἰών) being the

[1] Bruce, St. Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 382.

Messianic age which opens with the Parousia, brings all other ages with the generations belonging to them to an end, and is itself to endure for ever. Thus as Meyer puts it, the idea is that the glory to be given to God in the church and in Christ, its head, is to endure 'not only to the Parousia but then also ever onward from generation to generation in the Messianic æon.'"[1]

Philippians returns to the conception of II Corinthians v, 1-10 in that the anticipation of death intervenes between the time of his writing and the end. But there is nothing to indicate that The Day is to be postponed to any considerable length. It is indeed near (Philippians iv, 5), and that fact is as ever the ground of his exhortation to patience, but Paul's advancing age together with the manifold dangers of persecution made death a contingency quite within the limits of probability. The same thought of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is repeated. "Christ shall be magnified in my body whether by life or by death" (i, 20). Lightfoot thus paraphrases the passage:—"If I consulted my own longing I should desire to dissolve this earthly tabernacle and to go home to Christ, for this is very far better. If I consulted your interests I should wish to live and labor still; for this your needs require."[2] The later epistles **Philippians.**

[1] Salmond, Ephesians, Expos. Greek Testament, p. 319.
[2] Philippians, p. 92.

show very little tendency to work in elaborate imagery as a background to the Day of the Lord. The apostle seemed to have ignored this side of the expectation after Second Thessalonians. Even in the First Epistle to the Corinthians when the question of the Resurrection presented a fine field for this phase of the speculation, descriptive minutiæ so dear to the apocalyptist are not worked out, and in the closing letters, beyond the use of occasional phrases epitomizing the Parousia, the drama has lost practically all its setting.

The Messianic Kingdom.

Turning now to another main concept of Paul we find that the term, *βασιλεια*, although occurring comparatively seldom in the Pauline epistles, yet wherever so used includes both present and eschatological features.[1] The Thessalonian letters bring out the future aspect of the kingdom which is initiated by the *ἀποκάλυψις* of Jesus. "To the end that ye should walk worthily of God who calleth you into his own kingdom and glory" (I Thessalonians ii. 12). To be delivered from the coming wrath, and "to be for ever with the Lord" is the hope of their glorying. Participation in that kingdom is the recompense of their patient suffering. "To the end that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which ye also suffer" (II Thessalonians i. 5). Note the parallel in Luke xx. 35, commented on by Dalman,[2] where the statement of Jesus is

Thessalonians.

[1] Matthews, Messianic Hope, p. 167 ff.

[2] Words of Jesus, p. 118 ff. E. T.

regarded as distinctly eschatological. It is an inheritance into which the wicked cannot enter. **Galatians.** "As I did forewarn you that they who practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (Galatians v, 21). "Or know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators nor idolators, . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God" (I Corinthians vi, 9, 10). "Now this I **I Corinthians.** say brethren that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (I Corinthians xv, 50). Usually the thought of the future is expressed by such terms and phrases as *ζωή, σωτηρία, εἰς σωτηρίαν, δόξα, ἀπολύτρωσις, εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως* which sums up the blessings of the Messianic kingdom.[1]

The present Kingdom. Concurrently with the eschatological treatment runs the view of the present and earthly life of the Christian as comprising the kingdom of God. "For the kingdom is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Romans xiv, 17), and probably (Colossians i, 13) "Who delivered us out of the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love." The two phases are not antithetic. The kingdom is already begun in the life of the Christian, and the presence of the Spirit is the pledge of the final consummation which is realized in the new æon soon to be inaugurated." For if by the trespass of one,

[1] Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things, cap. i.

death reigned by one, much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ" (Romans v, 17). "And not only so, but ourselves also, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the Sonship, the redemption of our body" (Romans viii, 23). "And grieve not the Holy Spirit in whom ye were sealed unto the day of redemption" (Ephesians iv, 30).

In this two-fold setting of the present and the future life, where should the thought of the apostle in 1 Corinthians xv, 24-26 be placed? It is generally acknowledged that the eschatological *βασιλεία* or more strictly, the consummated *βασιλεία* commences with the Parousia of Christ when the *σχῆμα* of this world undergoes a complete transformation, being substituted by the transcendent and heavenly in the rigid sense of late apocalyptic. But does this section indicate that Paul conceived of an interim between the Parousia and the End where a rapid development of Christianity should take place upon this earth together with a final subjugation of all powers inimical to Christ, and that it is only when that conquest has been achieved, should the consummation in the strict eschatological sense be reached? The tendency to place an intervening Messianic Kingdom between the two æons, that is, between the Parousia and the Consummation, had come into prominence. The language of

Paul has, in the view of Pfleiderer, favored this point of view. "But each in his own order, Christ the first-fruits, then they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father." This passage, to Pfleiderer, represents "a series of moments of the resurrection in which each is separated in time from the preceding one, . . . Hence it follows undeniably that we must conceive the τέλος when Christ gives up the βασιλεία as essentially different from the Parousia when he enters upon it, and in fact separated from it by the period during which he reigns, i.e. by the period of the millennium (as it is called in the Apocalypse)."[1] It is conceded that the interval is left indefinite in Paul's treatment but that sufficient time must, nevertheless, be allowed for this extensive work of Christ prior to the delivering up of the kingdom to be affected. If that were the thought of Paul then the Corinthian eschatology at least, in this instance, would be in accord with that expectation of a temporal Messianic kingdom which runs through such writings as Jubilees, I Enoch xci-civ, II Enoch, The Assumption of Moses, II Baruch and others. Paul would then have believed, in agreement with that view, that the Parousia would be the

[1] Paulinism, vol. i, p. 269 E. T.

So Beyschlag:—"It is therefore, incontestable that Paul cherished a view similar to that of the writer of the Apocalypse with his 'thousand years' kingdom'; though his notion was richer in his content." New Testament Theology, vol. ii, p. 262 E. T.

personal return of Jesus to develop on the earth the kingdom of God to its consummation. This period would include the possibility of the conversion of both the Jewish and Gentile peoples which Paul seems to cherish in the subsequent Epistle to the Romans (xi, 25, 26). Now do the data of Paul's letters furnish sufficient evidence that he held to such a millennial conception? His

Time of Consummation.

teaching invariably identifies the day of the Parousia with the day of Judgment whereupon the final consummation of the *βασιλεία* takes place. Even in Thessalonians there is the express view of the coincidence of the Parousia with the Judgment: this Epistle to the Corinthians itself, that of Romans, and those still later, indicate no such interval between the Parousia and the Judgment, and thus the problem would be whether there would be one between that event and the complete consummation. In the many passages cited above—(II Thessalonians i, 6-10; I Corinthians i, 8; iv, 5; Romans ii, 5-10; Romans xiii, 11 f.; Colossians iii, 4; Philippians iv, 5) it would appear that the judgment synchronizes with the appearance (the Parousia) of Christ. It is difficult to see what would be the nature of this intervening period. However great may have been the optimism of Paul with regard to the triumphs of his Gospel when he wrote Romans, such triumphs would find a better setting in the interval between the exaltation (the Ascension) of Christ and his Parousia, than between the

latter and a consummation of the kingdom hypothetically placed at a later stage.

It may be seen from a study of the pseudepigraphic sources that the Judaistic sentiment was usually averse to the admission of the Gentiles into the Messianic kingdom. With the exception of a small number of writers like the writers of the Testaments, who appear to voice the cause of the "alien," exclusion is emphatically taught. The later the time the more uncompromising the prejudice. Ocasionally the concession is allowed that they may be spared to "serve Israel" in the temporary Messianic kingdom, but this applies rather to the neutral pagan than to the actively hostile Gentile, the latter being subject to irretrievable disaster. While the privilege of entrance into the kingdom is sometimes allowed, the reference is always to the intermediate rule between the two judgments. It is never extended to the resurrection, except in the view of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, where it is not so much a case of a resurrection as a transference of the Gentiles from Sheol to the furnace of Gehenna.

Paul's attitude towards Gentiles.

It is the outstanding greatness of Paul that following the teaching of Jesus he smote hip and thigh that veteran prejudice of Judaism. The steps that led up to his manifesto at Pisidian Antioch may be traced in Acts. The apology and martyrdom of Stephen, the Cornelian incident, the evangelization of Antioch, the heated

opposition of the Jews constituted the developing preparation. The Council of Jerusalem after severe debate finally gave official sanction to the new Pauline stand, and the record of the Missionary journeys is but the history of Paul's success in the breaking down of the wall of partition in Christ, "in whom there could neither be Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarism, Scythian, bond nor free." Naturally the sifting which would be brought about at the Parousia became based upon moral not upon ethnic grounds. That judgment irrespective as it is of race or ritual is as decisive in its way as in the current apocalyptic. There are a few passages indeed which some expositors have interpreted in the light of Universalism, notably that of the 15th of I Corinthians: "For as in Adam all die, even so also in Christ shall all be made alive;" Romans v, 12-21, "So then as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation, even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life." v, 18. So Colossians i, 19, 20; Ephesians i, 10; Philippians ii, 9, 10.

But the Corinthian argument is not designed to prove a general resurrection of wicked and good, but only those who have fallen asleep in Christ. "The stress of the comparison does not lie on πάντες as though the apostle meant to say that all men will rise in Christ as certainly as they die in Adam . . . The point is that as

death is, in all cases, grounded in Adam, so life in all cases is grounded in Christ, "no death without the one, no life without the other." πάντες=οἱ πολλοί in Romans v, 18 ff., as set in contrast with ὁ εἷς ἄνθρωπος.[1]

Beyschlag, while admitting that the passage in II Thessalonians i, 8 points decisively to the eternal destruction of the enemies of God, yet argues that the well-known passage in Romans (xi, 25, 26) teaches just as certainly their restoration, and so he advances the theory that "between the composition of the epistles to the Thessalonians and the later main epistles, the apostle, in respect of this point of doctrine, had undergone a change similar to that from the expectation of the Antichrist in II Thessalonians ii, to the hope of the conversion of the world in Romans xi."[2] So Charles:—"In Romans xi the apostle proclaims the inner and progressive transformation of mankind through the Gospel, culminating in the conversion of the entire Gentile and Jewish world as the immediate prelude of the advent of Christ."[3] And the supremacy of Christ as it is more fully developed in the later epistles seems to substantiate in the mind of Beyschlag this standpoint of Romans xi, while it sends into the background the initial teaching of Thessalonians. That final summing-

Is final restoration taught?

[1] Findlay, I Corinthians, Expos. Greek Testament, p. 926. Cf. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things, pp. 310 ff.

[2] New Testament Theology, p. 270 (Clark).

[3] Eschatology, p. 398.

up in Christ, to Charles, admits, however, the possibility of two alternatives. "Since, however, all things must be reconciled and summed up in Christ, there can be no room finally in the universe for a wicked being, whether human or angelic. Thus the Pauline eschatology points obviously, in its ultimate issues, either to the final redemption of all created personal beings, or—and this seems the true alternative—to the destruction of the finally impenitent."[1]

This section standing by itself might imply the inclusion within the kingdom of the whole world, Israelite and Gentile taken exhaustively. But the phrase, all Israel (**πᾶς 'Ισραήλ**) may mean and does mean in several contexts, Israel in the collective sense allowing for individual exceptions. Cf. I Kings xii, 1. "And Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king." Daniel ix, 11. "Yea, all Israel have transgressed the law even turning aside that they should not obey thy voice." Just as in impassioned denunciation a prophet might make a general indictment of his nation as a result of widespread idolatry, so he might, in his optimistic outlook for the future, picture a general restoration of his people conditioned upon their repentance, and yet in sober reflection admit the possibility of individual

Probability against it.

cases of stubborn and wilful antagonism to Yahweh and his purposes. The case of each

[1] Ibid, p. 405.

Israelite on its own merits is not here before the apostle's thought. Questions as to the fate of rebellious Jews who may conceivably die before the Parousia, or of those who have already died are not raised here, and further, his warnings presented again and again throughout the later letters against the vices of his time, suggest the anxiety that the acceptance of his gospel may not be such an unqualified success as his heart might yearn for. Cf. Philippians iii, 18, 19. "For many walk of whom I told you often and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is perdition."

In the parallel passages to the above, in Ephesians and Philippians, the thought is centred in the supreme Lordship of Christ in the universe. That fact involved the recognition of his Messianic authority even by his enemies. Referring to the Ephesian passage i, 10, Salmond remarks:—"This passage has been supposed to teach the doctrine of a universal restoration. But . . . it has nothing to do with any such doctrine, whether in the sense of a final salvation of all unrighteous and unbelieving men, or in that of a final recovery of all evil beings, devils, and men alike, . . . It expresses the truth that Christ is to be the point of union and reconciliation for all things, so that the whole creation shall be finally restored by him to its normal condition of harmony and unity."[1]

[1] Expos. Greek Testament, Ephesians, p. 262.

The apostle then has taken over the inevitable character of the Judaistic judgment but, as has been pointed out, bases it upon a strongly ethical foundation, bringing both Jew and Greek, and "every soul of man that worketh evil" beneath the penalty of exclusion from the kingdom, and opening out Messianic "glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good," both to the Jew and to the pagan who "showed the work of God" written on their hearts; in a word those that received "the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness should reign in life through one, Jesus Christ" (Romans ii, 9-16; v, 17). How far the apostle has swung away from the particularistic prejudices of his race may be seen by comparison with many Post-exilian utterances. Even when he is dealing with the present kingdom of God, and not the eschatological, the conditions of admission are never theocratic in the narrow sense. The pagan few who chance to escape the punishment of God in Zechariah,[1] are represented as going up to Jerusalem to attend annually the feast of the Tabernacles, and in the late Isaiah passages[2] all flesh "from one moon to another and from one Sabbath to another" shall come to worship at Jerusalem.[3] With Paul, the Gentiles become "the seed of Abraham" in the sense of their renewed life ἐν τῷ χριστῷ, "now

[1] Zechariah xiv, 16.
[2] lxvi, 23.
[3] Cheyne, Jewish Religious Life after the Exile, p. 134.

that the hitherto ethnico-Israelitish character of the theocracy has been entirely removed."[1]

There is here a peculiar divergence from, and yet a parallelism with, such Judaistic thought. In the above utterances it is clear that pagans are admitted to the theocratic kingdom when they become Jews in the sense of adhering to Jewish ceremonies, and worshipping in Jerusalem, in a word, adopting the Jewish religion. With Paul, pagans who showed the work of God written in their hearts, or who accepted the free gift in Christ, are admitted to the Messianic kingdom, but in no case is there any hope of other pagan dead.

Most of the functions ascribed to the Messiah in the contemporary apocalyptic are in the Pauline epistles assigned to Jesus. Sometimes his official duties seem to be clearly distinguished from the work which God alone has to perform; at other times both are regarded in the same eschatological capacity. The Parousia or ἀποκάλυψις as seen above is invariably that of Jesus who is to appear from heaven with the angels of his power, but the deliverance which the believer obtains is always from the retributive judgment of God described as ἡ ὀργὴ ἡ ἐρχομένη; ἡ ὀργή τοῦ θεοῦ[2] The work of immediate deliverance is the task of Christ, "who delivereth us from the wrath to come" (I Thessalonians

The Messiah.

[1] Riehm, Messianic Prophecy p. 261, E.T.

[2] I Thessalonians i, 10; ii, 16; v, 9. Romans i, 18; ii, 5; iii, 5; iv, 15; v, 9; ix, 22; Romans xii, 19. Colossians iii, 6; Ephesians ii, 3; v, 6.

Thessalonians. i, 10); "who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us out of this present evil world" (Galatians i, 4). Usually God is Judge, and it is his judgment which is executed, though occasionally the function is directly that of Christ. "So that we ourselves glory in you in the churches of God, . . . if so be that it is a righteous thing with God to recompense affliction to them that afflict you" (II Thessalonians i, 4-6). In the following verses, "the divine prerogative (e.g. fiery manifestation and judicial authority) are carried over to Jesus."[1] So in I Corinthians iv, 5:—"Wherefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness." Also II Corinthians v, 10 "For we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ." On the other hand, the second chapter of Romans refers throughout to the judgeship of God. "And reckonest thou this, O man . . . that thou shalt escape the judgment of God, . . . who will render to every man according to his works?" (verses 3-6). "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men according to my gospel by Jesus Christ" (v, 16). Cf. also Romans iii, 5, 6, 19—"Is God unrighteous who visiteth with wrath? . . . God forbid, for then how shall God judge the world? . . . That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may be brought under the judgment of God." And also

I Corinthians.

II Corinthians.

Romans.

[1] Moffatt, Expos. Greek Testament, 45.

Romans xiv, 10, "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God." Whenever the kingdom becomes the subject of treatment the predominant reference is to God, only rarely to Christ,—at least in phraseology—"To the end that ye should walk worthily of God who calleth you into his own kingdom and glory" (I Thessalonians ii, 12). Cf. also II Thessalonians i, 5; Galatians v, 21; I Corinthians vi, 10; xv, 50. In Ephesians the kingdom belongs both to God and to Christ. "For this ye know of a surety that no fornicator . . . hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God" (v, 5).

Functions ascribed to God.

Whenever the apostle in retrospect undertakes an interpretation of history, or in long distance prospective attempts to picture its goal, the operations belong to God. Nowhere is this seen so clearly as in the Lucan record of Paul's address at Athens. There his rigid Jewish monotheism is boldly outlined:—"The God that made the world and all things therein, he being Lord of heaven and earth, . . . But now he commandeth men that they should everywhere repent, inasmuch as he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained" (Acts xvii, 24-31). In the epistles it is God "who raised Jesus from the dead, who will bring with him those that have fallen asleep in Jesus,[1] who appointed us not

[1] I Thessalonians i, 10; iv, 14; I Corinthians vi, 14; xv, 15; II Corinthians i, 9; xiii, 4; Romans i, 4; iv, 24; Romans viii, 11; x, 9; Colossians ii, 12; Ephesians i, 20.

unto wrath,[1] but unto the obtaining of salvation, who separated Paul from his mother's womb and called him through his grace,[2] who sent forth his Son born of a woman under the law,[3] who chose the foolish things of the world that he might put to shame them that are wise,[4] who always leadeth in triumph in Christ,[5] who said 'Light shall shine out of darkness.'"[6] "But all things are of God who reconciled us to himself through Christ."[7] The supremacy of God as the creative and sustaining source is emphasized in I Corinthians and in Romans, "For there be that are called Gods, . . . yet to us there is but one God, the Father of whom (ἐξ οὗ) are all things and we unto him (εἰς αὐτόν), and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom (δἰ οὗ) are all things, and we through him" (δἰ αὐτοῦ) (I Corinthians viii, 6). Combining this with the fifteenth chapter, it would appear that some function mediatorial in character was ascribed to Christ after which he delivers up the kingdom which he has established to God the Father. In whatever light the 28th verse may be construed the final phrase, "that God may be all in all," seems to throw into relief the subordination of Christ, and the indisputable sovereignty of God.

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[1] I Thessalonians v, 9, 10.
[2] Galatians i, 15, 16.
[3] Galatians iv, 4, 5.
[4] I Corinthians i, 27.
[5] II Corinthians ii, 14.
[6] II Corinthians iv, 6.
[7] II Corinthians v, 18, 19. Cf. Romans iii, 25; viii, 32. Colossians i, 20.

Romans reiterates this point. "For of him (God) and through him, and unto him are all things" xi, 36.

But now it is interesting to note that the Imprisonment epistles dealing as they do with the Christological phase of eschatology, apply the same predicates to Christ as the above epistles apply to God, and this fact has led to the theory that Paul has here emerged into a new development with regard to the exaltation of Christ. Charles states that while "in earlier epistles the creation of the world was effected through the Son, (I Corinthians viii, 6) its consummation was to be realized in the Father when the Son had resigned his mediatorial kingdom to the Father (I Corinthians xv, 24-26). But in these later epistles not only is the Son the Creative agent in the universe, "in him were all things created" (Colossians i, 17)—not only is he the principle of cohesion and unity whereby it is a cosmos and not a chaos—"in him all things hold together" (*συνέστηκεν* Colossians i, 17)—"but he is also the end to which they move—'all things were created, . . . unto him'" (*εἰς αὐτόν* Colossians i, 16).[1] Compare Ephesians i, 10 where "all things are summed up in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things on the earth."

Functions assigned to Christ.

It is not the purpose here to show the possibility of reconciling this exalted position of

[1] Charles, Eschatology, p. 403.

Christ in the view of Paul with the Jewish idea of monotheism, nor of indicating how the later dogmas of Christendom developed out of Pauline Christology. One phase of this problem though in a less accentuated degree appears in earlier Judaism. The work of the Messiah was never sharply differentiated from that of Yahweh wherever comparisons are made in either the prophecies or the pseudepigrapha. The deliverance of the nation was to be accomplished through Yahweh or through his servants. It might be assumed throughout that the ultimate source of salvation was everywhere the power of Yahweh, and references to other agencies have in the background the idea of relegated authority. "Behold a king shall reign in righteousness and princes shall reign in justice" (Isaiah xxxii, 1; xxxii, 17). "For Yahweh is our judge, Yahweh is our lawgiver, Yahweh is our king; he will save us" (Isaiah xxxiii, 22). The Deliverer of Davidic descent is raised up by Yahweh to execute justice and righteousness, in Jeremiah (xxiii, 5; xxxiii, 14-26). He is the Mediator for the Gentiles, and the Prophet of the Most High, and rules over all nations with the authority given him by God, in the Testaments (Lev. viii, 14), but again it is Yahweh who "visits all the Gentiles with his mercies" (Lev. iv, 4). In the Psalms of Solomon, a righteous king of the House of David is to be raised up to destroy the godless nations (xvii, 27), but still more frequently is

that destruction regarded as the direct visitation of Yahweh without reference to an intermediary (xv, 1-15).

It is sufficient to point out here that the apostle in the closing years of his life soared ahead of all apocalyptic precedents in declaring the authoritative functions of the Messiah. His pre-existence is indeed a conception not unfamiliar to the Inter-Testament literature. The Similitudes states—"Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits" (I Enoch xlviii, 3), but this and the large list of titles which constitute the dignity of the Messiah, distributed through the section xxxvii-lxxi, cannot compare in significance with the remarkable sentences of Colossians i, 15-20; Ephesians i, 10; and Philippians ii, 5-11. It is true that earlier epistles show evidence of this high authority—(Galatians iv, 4; I Corinthians viii, 6; II Corinthians viii, 9; Romans viii, 3, 32) but the later and more developed thought makes, in explicit terms, all eschatological interests centre in Christ, and in man's relation to him. This transition, or as some might hold, culmination in Paul's view remains a problem to be examined. Even if the position in Colossians and Ephesians be regarded as a natural culmination of the antecedent views, it is perfectly legitimate to inquire what was the background, what were the occasions which led to this further and

apparently final step. Was it due to Paul's further reflection upon the position which Christ should hold in the complete religious life of the world, and was it brought forth by his keen and perhaps sympathetic observation of the religious practices of contemporary faiths?

The problems that confronted Paul's vision at the outset of his missionary activity were of the most complex character. Three centuries before his time, the rise of the Macedonian power had wrought great changes in the political organization of Greece, and the new world empire that sprang up in the path of the victorious armies of Alexander had impressed Greek culture,—its literature, art, and habits of thought upon Eastern civilization from the Aegean to the Indus. Babylonia, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor were molded by the wide-spread expansion of this new power, and, for several centuries afterwards, the intellectual supremacy of Athens itself was challenged by the vigorous growth of such great Hellenic centres as Alexandria, Antioch and Tarsus. The same dominance of Hellenic thought had also prevailed throughout the West. Several centuries before the rise of Alexander, numerous Greek colonies had been founded in every region of the Mediterranean, and thus by the end of the third century B.C. that vast stretch of territory from Spain to Persia might well have been called the Hellenistic world. Every prominent city became an educational centre for Hellenism. Whereas "the Jews developed a system of home

education, in which certain religious, and family and national influences were impressed on the child in a marvellous fashion so that they permanently molded his character; . . . Hellenism evolved a national and public education, intellectual and physical, of remarkable character; and it was in later times and in the Græco-Asiatic cities that this system can be observed in greatest perfection."[1]

Nor was Hellenism supplanted by the Latin civilization when Rome in her turn completed her military subjugation of Europe and Western Asia.[2] It is true that Roman citizenship carried with it certain inalienable rights which afforded special protection to his life and property, wherever, in any one of the provinces, a Roman appeared before a tribunal. He was by his birth a member of a recognized aristocracy wherever the power of his government was felt. But apart from this the Romanizing of the East in the strictly cultural sense was not all carried to the same degree that the Hellenizing process had been

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[1] Ramsay, Cities of St. Paul, p. 41.

[2] Momsen, History, vol. v, p. 465 E. T. "The increased contact with the Greeks, especially the frequent journeys of the Romans into the Hellenic provinces, and the assemblage of literati in Rome naturally produced a public, even amongst the Italians, for the Greek literature of the day."

See also Schürer, Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Div. ii, vol. i, p. 51 E. T. "But Latin, as in the Eastern provinces, so also in Palestine, attained no wide diffusion till the late Imperial period. In the first centuries the Roman officials in their intercourse with provincials exclusively employed the Greek language."

in the earlier centuries. On the contrary, the original Greek influence became by Roman extension more deeply ingrained upon eastern life than it had ever been. "Rome was content to organize and govern them (the Eastern provinces) to preserve peace in an orderly population and make it contribute to the strength of the Empire as a whole."[1] Hellenic ideals were not disturbed but fostered, and the fact that the κοινή, the common speech of the Græco-Roman world in the lifetime of Paul was the Greek dialect shows the tremendous influence such a culture had upon the thought and manners of the first Christian century.[2] In Philosophy and Religion, Greek thought was perpetuated although constantly undergoing considerable modifications. The decline of the city-states had opened out a vision of a larger brotherhood "that transcended the limits of a city or a tribe." The Stoic Philosophy,[3] by far the most widely diffused philosophy of this age had taken hold of the principle of universalism, and had worked it out in a system of ethics containing some of the noblest utterances in the two or three centuries immediately preceding the time of Christ, as also in the first century following.

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[1] Ramsay, Cities of St. Paul, p. 7.

[2] Deissmann, New Light on the New Testament, p. 31. E. T.

[3] C. H. Toy, Judaism and Christianity, p. 40. "Its ideas penetrated into all parts of the Roman Empire leaving no cultivated community or circle untouched or uncolored by their influences, not even Jewish Palestine, so much disposed to hold itself aloof from heathen thought."

But again, just as the East, as represented in the newly established kingdoms consequent upon the division of Alexander's empire, absorbed the pervasive civilization of Greece, so reciprocally there streamed into the West many powerful currents which, as far as they have been traced, are believed to have had their source in Oriental origins.[1] Long before the third century B.C. "the commercial cities of Ionia threw open their gates to Asiatic influences." Referring to the Chaldean infiltrations after the Persian wars, Cumont remarks:—"Certain facts recently brought to light indicate that the relations, direct or indirect, between the centres of Babylonian learning and the Greek culture, were never at any time entirely broken off." "Babylon was to the men of old the mother of astronomy as of star worship. It is in this department more than all others that it is possible to show how the Greeks profited, . . . from the positive data which had been slowly accumulated by these ancient priests of Mesopotamia."[2]

Eastern speculation, however, was more widely transmitted through the medium of the Jewish Diaspora. The exile had sent the Jews into many remote parts of the world, especially into Babylonia and Egypt. Later, continuous migrations through Asia Minor had resulted in the founding

[1] For discussion of Asiatic influences, see Hogarth, Ionia and the East, p. 99 ff.

[2] Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, p. 44.

of numerous settlements, and it is probable that many phases of Persian theology, as well as much that was native to the Hebraic religion had slowly filtered into cities where Hellenism had already gained the ascendant. Ramsay refers to Tarsus as the main city in the Græco-Asiatic kingdoms which attempted most successfully to unite the Oriental and the Occidental. The other cities of Western Asia had to some extent accomplished that union, but "The Tarsian state was more successful than any other of the great cities of the time in producing an amalgamated society in which the Oriental and the Occidental spirit in unison attained in some degree a higher plane of thought and action."[1]

In other parts of the Hellenized world this general interblending of religious and physical speculation of both East and West had no better illustration than in the country along the Nile. Egypt had served for centuries as a distributing centre for hybrid beliefs.[2] That nation had received considerable accessions of Jews in the age antedating the Persian conquests. Colonies were continually being established under the reign of Alexander, and especially during the Ptolemaic dynasty when the Jews were allowed on a liberal scale to participate in the political, religious and commercial life of the Empire.

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[1] Op. cit. p. 89.

[2] "Hellenistic theology was most strongly influenced by Egyptian conceptions and traditions. The Egyptian religion is known to have spread itself over the Hellenistic world." Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, vol. i, p. 41.

Jewish temples were built and synagogues established, and what is even more significant Hellenistic Judaism produced its great literary achievement in the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

But the religious life of the time, seemed to have found its most distinct expression in a syncretism[1] grounded in the mystery-cults of the East[2]. This was made possible by the influx into the West of people from many countries each with its special deity and mode of worship. Lake points out that the word Diaspora has usually been narrowed too much in its meaning by being applied exclusively to the Jewish Dispersion, that "it was the Orontes, not the Jordan which seemed to the Roman eye to be flowing into the Tiber, and we ought to remember that just as there was a Jewish Diaspora with its proselytizing propaganda, there were Egyptian, Syrian, Persian and other Diasporæ, in which the various cults were taught, though each probably with more or less pronounced variations from the native type."[3]

Discussion of the Mystery Cults.

The Mysteries in their earlier forms were based upon such myths as the tearing to pieces by the Titans of Dionysus Zagreus, the Son of Zeus, in the form of a bull, after which the parts were devoured by the Titans. The latter were destroyed by Zeus in revenge, but from their remains

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[1] The Mysteries of Mithra. Mead, p. 38 ff.

[2] Shirley Jackson Case. Biblical World, xliii, No. 1, January, 1914.

[3] Lake, The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, p. 42.

sprang up a new race of men in which both good and evil elements were mingled, and the process of redemption consisted in eliminating the Titanic elements by a series of reincarnations, which, as they succeeded each other, became increasingly characterized by the presence within man of the god-like nature. The earliest type of such emancipation centred in orgiastic rites where devotees after sacrificing a bull devoured it. Under the stimulus of frenzied intoxication the worshipper believed himself to be identified, partially at least with the god—in the sense of partaking of the virtues of the God, in whose name the sacrifice was offered. These excesses became in the course of time relieved of their many extravagances especially under the influence of astral worship mediated by the Stoic of Syria, Posidonius, who took hold of the astronomical speculations of Persia and Babylonia and adapted them to the religious life of his own country.[1]

Everywhere in the Western world[2] these cults were established. In Egypt the cult of Isis and Osiris formed a large part of the national religion.[3] In Phrygia, it was the worship of Cybele and Attis; that of Dionysus probably had its home in Thrace. But while certain cults were

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[1] Cumont, Astrology and Religion, p. 147.

[2] The Mysteries of Mithra. Mead, p. 18.

[3] The Corpus Hermeticum, a large body of Egyptian literature, shows the remarkable blend of foreign religious ideas together with "native" thought. Persian cosmological theories, Stoic philosophy, liturgic fragments embodying diverse mystery strains are all intermingled in its many strands.

at first more usually associated with certain great centres than with others, there was gradually formed a general syncretism[1] which especially peculiarized important commercial cities frequented by travellers from over the Mediterranean coast. The worship of Dionysus became blended with that of Cybele and Isis. Votaries of any particular god in their intercourse with foreigners found marked affinities in the worship of gods of other lands,—a fact which greatly facilitated the community of feeling at a given shrine. When the national religious faiths of early Greece became to a great extent dissolved upon the change of political fortunes in the third century B.C., these cult communities (*θίασοι*), supplied the place of the old national bonds, and men journeying from the most diverse parts of the world might unite together in their common sacrifice to a god, who was not conceived merely as the patron of a local patriotism.[2] The Stoic philosophy as it penetrated the Roman world

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[1] "Philo also tells us that the worker of all is gnosis, ἐπιστήμη, the very name which Plutarch gives to Isis." Mead, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 30. See cults of the Greek State, vol. 2, p. 473 ff. Farnell.

[2] Ferguson in "Hellenistic Athens" refers to the frequent importation of new deities into Greek life in the fourth and third centuries B.C. This worship was propagated through private associations of "orgeones" dedicated to the Great Mother, Dionysus and other deities. "The renascence of these private associations, since it affected aliens from all parts as well as natives, is a general Hellenistic, not a specifically Attic phenomenon. It is attributable in large part to the new cosmopolitanism which the conquests of Alexander had produced." Hellenistic Athens, p. 220.

For evidence of the Great Mother worship in the Peiræus in the fourth century B.C., see also "Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens." Harrison and Verrall, p. 46 ff.

seemed in this one respect to give added strength to the religious unity. In Ephesus and Smyrna, as well as further inland into Phrygian territory and in the large towns along the Ionian coast, in the cities of Thrace, notably at Philippi, and throughout Greece numerous associations in honor of the Great Mother and other affiliated deities were in evidence, at least for three or four centuries before the lifetime of Paul. The Eleusinian Mysteries had become a Pan-Hellenic festival. The brotherhoods had penetrated further West, and there is evidence of the worship of Isis and Dionysus in Rome as early as the second century B.C.[1]

Amidst all the manifold constituents that comprised the Mystery Religions one conspicuous feature emerged into the foreground. The inheritance which the West received from the Chaldeans was the belief in the government of human life by the influence of sidereal revolutions. In Babylonia, not only was the course of a man's life regarded as being fixed by *εἱμαρμένη*, but also the wider existence of the gods themselves. Moreover, the rhythmic regularity which marked the movements of the sun and moon and the

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[1] The cult of Isis was perpetuated in Rome with the most degrading ceremonial. It had become such a social pest that its official exercise in the temples of the city was sternly suppressed by Tiberius in 19 A.D., the statue of the goddess being thrown into the river, and the priests crucified. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire, 256 E. T. "The worship of the Phrygian Mother of the gods was adopted by the Romans in 204 B.C., towards the close of their long struggle with Hannibal." Frazer, Golden Bough, vol. i, 265. See also Hausrath, New Testament History, vol. i, p. 61, E. T.

stars had given rise to the idea that the course of the universe formed a never ending series of vast periods, each one merely repeating the cycle of its predecessor. Similarly the life of man was wrapped up in the same kind of periodicity. The doctrine of the wheel of births was a theological formulation of that astronomical theory. But this speculation had to subject itself to the demands made upon it by religious hopes. Astrology was in the hands of Chaldean priests who professed to be able to rescue an individual from his fate by an elaborate system of incantations and magical ceremonies. Whenever apparent irregularities occurred, as the appearance of falling stars or comets, such phenomena were interpreted as exceptional divergences from the rule of necessity, and the priesthood, in accordance with this fact, was regarded as possessing the means of emancipating human life from the thraldom of the archons. In other words, Mysticism became par excellence the remedy against the power of fate. "Not only magic but also mysteries profess to teach methods for exorcising Fate. They will be able to appease the wrath of sidereal powers and to win their favor by rites and offerings; they will teach above all how to prolong man's life beyond the term appointed by Destiny, and to assure him an immortality of bliss."[1] The outstanding goal then of the Mysteries was just this deliverance

[1] Cumont, op. cit., p. 161. Jastrow, Religions of Babylonia and Assyria, Chapter XVI.

from the rule of the archons—an immortality freed from the trammels of Fate, an actual deification of the initiate effected through the proper employment of the apparatus provided by the cult.[1] The rites symbolized the death and resurrection of the mystes. It is significant that the great festivals were connected with the rotations of the seasons,—with the sowing and the reaping of the corn, with the decay and growth of vegetation.[2] They were attended with brilliant pageantry, processions and sacrifices, the critical moment of resurrection occurring in the darkness of night, broken by the sudden illumination of torches.[3] Initiates were sworn upon oath to keep secret the formulæ which accompanied initiation. Ablutions, fastings, sacraments and rigid ascetic prescriptions formed the preliminaries to the final act which was supposed to graduate the neophyte from his life of mortality and decay into an existence god-like and eternal.

Many attempts have been made to derive both the Synoptic tradition of the life of Jesus, especially the account of his passion, death and

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[1] Manual of Greek Antiquities, Gardiner and Jevons, p. 224. "In the mysteries various deities were called upon by secret names, the mere utterances of which by the votaries put them at once on a footing of intimacy with the god."

[2] "They pictured to themselves the growth and decay of vegetation, the birth and death of living creatures as the effects of the waxing or waning strength of divine beings, of gods and goddesses who were born and died, who married and begot children on the pattern of human life." Frazer, Golden Bough, vol. i, p. 1.

[3] Kennedy, St. Paul and The Mystery Religions, p. 215.

resurrection, and many of the main conceptions of Paul from the elaborate machinery of the mysteries as here outlined. J. M. Robertson regarded the records of the closing portion of the life of Jesus as simply a transcript of the Mystery-Drama.[1] And parallels have been adduced in Mystic fragments, in Gnostic literature, in Stoic philosophy,[2] and in formulations of Oriental gnosis in general to account for the whole theology of Paul. It is not the purpose here to discuss in any detail the merits or demerits of such a point of view. It is perhaps sufficient just at present to point out that the position has in no sense been established, but, on the contrary, evidence may be gathered at great length in proof of the comparative independence of the apostle Paul. But it must, however, be admitted that the Græco-Roman world with its vast amalgam of religious beliefs,[3] with its society composed of innumerable strata formed by the many Diasporæ, which had poured into it for centuries, constituted precisely the very environment in which Paul lived, and travelled, and thought. And now the problem stated on page 160 recurs again with greater emphasis. What was the standpoint from which the apostle approached the cardinal

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[1] Christianity and Mythology, quoted by Clemen, op. cit.

[2] The close affinity of Seneca's teaching with that of Paul suggests contact of thought. True worship, to Seneca, consisted in purity of life where God was known not in temples, but in the "sanctuary of the heart." As far as one might work out a theory of dependence there is just as much reason to argue for the priority of Paul as of Seneca.

[3] Zeller, Eclectics, p. 146. Toy, Judaism and Christianity, p. 10.

religious needs of those diverse races that thronged the centres of population from Rome to the shores of the Euxine? Was the rabbinical and apocalyptic outlook which governed the earlier part of his life broad enough to solve the new and knotty situations that arose in his missionary labors? What functions did he assign to Jesus, in his character of Messiah and Saviour, which might satisfy a mystic neophyte yearning for deliverance from the burdens which Oriental beliefs had imposed upon him? In short, was the exalted role, which in the view of Paul as expressed in the later epistles, Christ performed, the outcome at least in part, of the cravings and needs that seemed to grow in magnitude and intensity as the apostle in his distant journeys saw more and more of the condition of the Gentile world?

Problems of Christology in later Epistles.

It has been seen that Paul although of the strictest sect a Pharisee, and a child of his age in carrying with him even throughout his life a large part of his Jewish inheritance, yet in many essential directions travelled far beyond the horizon of his co-religionists, feeling that he had authority invested in him through Christ to make many fundamental departures from the Judaistic point of view. How much then of the religious outlook as traced above could he adopt as in harmony with his own position, and how much would he reject as being contrary thereto, and, further, may one suppose that the high Christology of the Imprisonment epistles may have been shaped in

part by the reaction of his thought on the religious movements of his time?

Paul's teachings upon the Pre-existence of Christ have already been alluded to in an earlier part of this discussion. This phase of the character of the Messiah had been in Judaistic writings subjected to a two-fold treatment, viz., that of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism.[1] When not conceived in purely symbolic terms, the Messiah is represented occasionally as existing before the creation of the stars of heaven, and later in his manifestation on earth he is described by titles which indicate his character of righteousness, wisdom, power and kingship. I Enoch 37-71. This reference is in accord with a more ancient Jewish conception that many earthly possessions highly valued by the nation such as the Temple, the city of Jerusalem, and the Law pre-existed in heaven before they were manifested upon earth, and that this manifestation (φανεροῦσθαι) was simply a reduplication in visible shape of what in heaven was regarded as invisible. This applied also in the wide sense to the history of the world and its destiny, and in the figure of the "Books of God" kept by angelic ministers is in its way a reflection of this idea. Pre-existence seems at first to be confined to certain Messianic things considered of high importance, but from the time of the Maccabees onwards, under the influence of Greek thought the restriction was removed and

[1] Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, 334 f.

persons also were included. The appearance of the Messiah on earth was of this kind, but nowhere is there evidence that the predication of Deity was made in his special case. Compare IV Ezra xiii, 25, 26. "Whereas thou didst see a man coming up from the heart of the sea; this is he whom the Most High is keeping many ages." "This is," says Harnack "neither an incarnation nor a humiliation, but he appears on earth as he exists before God, viz., as a mighty and just king, equipped with all gifts . . . Nowhere do we find in Jewish writings a conception which advances beyond the notion that the Messiah is the man who is with God in heaven; and who will make his appearance at his own time."[1]

On the other hand, the references in Hellenistic literature to the pre-existence of Wisdom can scarcely be interpreted in any other sense than that of the personification of an abstraction or an attribute of God. Wisdom was present when God made the worlds; it is the creator of all things; and is described in terms which in other places are ascribed to God himself. It is an "effulgence from everlasting light, a breath of the power of God, which remaining in herself, renewed all things and from generation to generation passes into holy ones" (Wisdom vii, 25, 26). In Philo, one cannot be definite in drawing such a distinction especially in his treatment of the Logos. The Messiah who brings back the

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[1] History of Dogma, vol i, p. 323. E. T.

Tribes is "more divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of man, invisible indeed to every one else, but apparent only to those that are saved" (iii, 494).

Now in whatever centres of Paul's missionary labors wherein representatives of Alexandrian philosophy and Palestinian thought were to be found, it seems clear that the apostle could have found some points of contact with both classes. In fact Paul works out a partial synthesis of both points of view, though indeed with the elimination of certain phases peculiar to each. The pre-existence of Christ is laid down in both earlier and later epistles, but never is the point forgotten that this Christ alike in the pre-existent state as in his exaltation, is the same who was Jesus "born of a woman, and born under the law." "But when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them that were under the law" (Galatians iv, 4, 5). "But ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich yet for your sakes he became poor that ye through his poverty might become rich" (II Corinthians viii, 9). "God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh" (Romans viii, 3). Now it is usual to speak of Hellenistic theology as dealing with abstractions in the sense that the agencies at work such as Wisdom are the Deity's several attributes hypostasized as individ-

Alexandrian terms.

uals, or to use a still more difficult term, Personalities. And it is exceedingly difficult to determine whether or not these so-called abstractions were recognized by the people concerned as abstractions, or whether such categories are the refinements of a later age, even the present, eager for fine distinctions. While then it is with some hesitation, in view of the indefiniteness of the treatment in Philo and elsewhere, that we would characterize these conceptions of Hellenistic or Alexandrian theology as being exactly such abstractions, it seems to be fairly clear that if such were the case Paul does not adopt that method. If, on the other hand, these non-Christian theologies were not employing abstractions but were dealing with those things which they believed to be the attributes of God, i.e., God acting in this, that, or the other way, there remains the question as to whether or not Paul was in accord with this latter line of argument. In any case the Alexandrian, assuming that he was acquainted with his own literature, received from Paul emphatic declarations as to the earthly history of Jesus. And to the Jew was pressed home the teaching that Palestinian speculation about the Messiah fell short of the real glory of Christ, and here Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians abound in higher predicates. It must not be claimed, of course, that there is no evidence of this Christology in earlier letters. Compare

Romans ix, 5 "Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh who is over all, God blessed for ever." The interpretation of this passage has divided commentators, some, e.g., Gifford, Sanday, Westcott, Weiss and others making the phrase "Who is over all, God, etc." refer to Christ, and others, e.g.,[1] Denney construing it as a doxology, not in praise to Christ, but to God. Into the grammatical exegesis of this statement it is not the purpose to enter. If θεός is applied to Christ in this passage, there are no other examples of such a direct appellation in any of the letters. The data which might be brought to corroborate this theistic interpretation is of an indirect character. There is the use of the title, Κύριος, which is applied constantly to Christ. In the Epistles to the Thessalonians, it occurs twenty-two times, eight times without, and fourteen times with, the article, the former indicating how it was employed as a proper name.[2] Its use came through the Septuagint which utilized the term to translate the Hebrew designation of Yahweh. The phrase, "The day of Yahweh" became in the language of Paul, "The day of the Lord." When the title "Son of God" or "Son" is applied it cannot be decisively ascertained whether or not this is merely the official

[1] Expos. Greek Testament, Romans, p. 658.

[2] See discussion of Titles, Milligan, Epistles to Thessalonians, p. 135 ff.

Messianic appellation.[1] But at any rate before we get to Colossians and Ephesians, the fact pressed upon his readers is the Lordship of Christ.[2] How in the later letters the Christology of Paul is deepened is a problem which is difficult to solve. That the Jewish notion of the character of the Messiah is transcended in these epistles is evident. The functions belonging to the Logos of Philo or to the abstract Wisdom—if that view be taken—in the Alexandrian literature are here in their highest capacity ascribed to Christ. Not merely pre-existence but creative power are invested in him. "For in him were all things created in the heavens and upon the earth, whether things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him (εἰς αὐτὸν); and he is before all things, and in him all things consist" (ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν, Colossians i, 16, 17).

"For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell (πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα v, 19). If Gnosticism in its less developed stages was the evil which Paul was combatting in this letter, then surely the angelic intermediaries, and all the principalities and powers invested with deity by this sect and subject to their worship, are here despoiled of their

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[1] I Corinthians xii. 3. Romans x, 8 ff.

[2] Galatians ii, 20; iv, 4; I Corinthians i, 9; xv, 28; II Corinthians i, 19; Romans i, 3, 4, 9; v, 10; viii, 3, 32; Ephesians iv, 13; Colossians i, 13.

imputed prerogatives (Colossians i, 19). "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily, and in him are ye made full who is the head of principality and power" (Colossians ii, 9, 10). Compare Colossians ii, 18. "Let no man rob you of your prize by a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." If in these cities of Western Asia the circumcised and uncircumcised, the Greek and the Scythian, the bond and the free, gathered together to hear the message which a "new teacher" sought to deliver, it was of a Christ calculated to satisfy the most diverse needs that they learned. If it was a Greek with his quest after σοφία or γνῶσις that wanted instruction, the answer was "that ye may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding" (Colossians i, 9). If it was the "uncircumcised" who wanted perchance to find out the conditions of entering the New Way, he was told that in Christ there could be no circumcision nor uncircumcision, that the legalistic partition which Judaism had set up had been abolished in the same person (Colossians iii, 11).

Note. While Gnosticism in its developed form cannot be said to be much earlier than the second century A.D., yet there were tendencies at work in the earlier part of the first century A.D. which were giving expression to the Gnostic principles. King thus summarizes the grand doctrine of Gnosticism:—"The soul on being released from the body (its prison-house and place of torment) has to pass through the regions of the Seven Powers; which it cannot do unless impregnated beforehand with knowledge; . . . But should it be filled with knowledge, it eludes the Seven Powers and tramples upon the head of Sabaoth, . . . and mounts up into the eighth heaven, the abode of Barbelo, the Universal Mother and who according to the Pistis Sophia, is the celestial mother of the Saviour." Gnostics and their Remains, p. 333.

It would appear then that the twenty years of profound reflection upon the scenes of his missionary labors, in countries which exhibited the most heterogeneous types of religious belief, had led the apostle, especially towards the close of his life, to invest Christ with the categories that are found in these later epistles. The mystery cults practised in every large city of his time must have deeply affected him. To say this does not carry with it the implication that any leading phases of his teachings were derived from the mysteries.[1] The gods in whose names the rites were performed, associated as they were with the processes of decay and growth of vegetation,[2] could have in this respect little affinity with the Christ that Paul preached. The nature of the death of Attis and Osiris was as far apart as the poles from the kind of death that Jesus suffered at the hands of Jews and Romans.[3] But admitting this, it is not merely a coincidence that out of the eighteen examples of the use of the term *μυστήριον*, ten are to be found in the two epistles of Colossians and Ephesians. Indeed, so universal was the influence of the Mysteries in the religious life of the West that certain writers have claimed that, although Paul himself might not have

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[1] Shirley Jackson Case, Biblical World, xliii, No. 1, January, 1914, p. 15.

[2] Jane Harrison, Ancient Ritual and Art, p. 139, 182 ff.

[3] Loisy makes Christ "a Saviour-god after the manner of Osiris, an Attis, a Mithra, . . . Like Adonis, Osiris, and Attis, he had died a violent death, and like them he had returned to life." Hibbert Journal, October, 1911, p. 51.

intended that his gospel should have been so technically interpreted, yet many of his churches regarded it as another mystery religion.[1] Others such as Schweitzer and Heitmüller[2] have attributed to Paul the ex-operato notion of the mystic sacraments. "In Paul we have an unmediated and naked notion of sacrament such as is nowhere else to be met with . . . Contact with the water is supposed to effect a dying and rising again with Christ, a partaking in his mystical body, and the possession of the Spirit . . . What happens is that in a moment when he receives baptism the dying and rising again of Christ takes place in him without any co-operation or exercise of will or thought on his part . . . It is like a mechanical process which is set in motion by pressing a spring."[3] No unanimity has been reached by scholars upon this point. This transformation has been regarded as a "merely moral" renewal like that for which the Hebrew prophets strove with eager appeal; and many of the passages which seem to have a marked eschatological phrasing have been reduced to the plane of this present life without reference to any apocalyptic framework. It seems possible to take such exhortations as "be ye not fashioned according to this world but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Romans xii, 2); together with many other statements above quoted,

[1] Lake op. cit., p. 46.
[2] Schweitzer, Paul p. 204. E. T.
[3] Ibid. 212.

as in accordance with this interpretation. Whenever Paul alludes to the believer's relation to Christ, there is little incongruity in construing his message as an ethical transformation of heart; namely the death to sin, and the life of righteousness. What is crucified is evil desire and covetousness, fornication, uncleanness and passion, all concentrated in the expressions, "the old man, the body of sin" (Colossians iii, 5). The "putting on" need not necessarily be explained as the magical action of a cult ceremony, but the "peace of Christ" ruling in the heart. This very epistle illustrates the discussion in striking language. "Put on therefore, Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness and lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye; and above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness" (iii, 12-14). As an individual might, in pictorial expression, die to the circumcision of the law by the abandonment of legalism, he might rise to newness of life by entering the new way of salvation. Taking the language just as it stands, such a conclusion might indeed easily be reached. But the more we emphasize the eschatological standpoint of the apostle where, in his consuming expectation, the future world was about to break in upon the present order, the more color is lent to the position that "the forces

of death and resurrection" were already at work producing in part the very transformation which the advent of Christ would accomplish in its completion. The Parousia would then initiate on a cosmic scale what was already in process in the lives of Christians. It is such phrases as: "Having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God who raised him from the dead," which has prompted Schweitzer to regard the Sacraments in themselves as eschatological and designed to effect this mystic change. "The apostle asserts an overlapping of the still natural, and the already supernatural conditions of the world, which becomes real in the case of Christ and believers in the form of an open or hidden working of the forces of death and resurrection—and becomes real in them only. The doctrine of the death and resurrection of Jesus and the mystical doctrine of redemption are alike cosmically conditioned."[1]

A decision concerning the symbolic[2] or the magical[3] action of baptism will depend upon the

[1] Paul, p. 245.

[2] "It is a faith which is the ground of our being raised with Christ (this again, like the "being buried," is probably mentioned because of some baptismal formula containing these details); . . . There is in Paul's teaching no suggestion of a sacrament in the Catholic or even in the orthodox-Protestant sense." Clemen, Primitive Christianity, p. 223.

[3] Contrast Weinel:—"Do we not enter into a mysterious and yet real communion, at once sensual and supersensual with the devils, if we partake of the flesh offered to them? Paul believed this as firmly as he believed that in the Lord's supper he partook of the very Body and Blood of Christ." St. Paul, p. 31.

thoroughness with which this eschatological machinery is applied. But still whether it is an operation of faith or of ritual which effects the resurrection of the believer before the Parousia, the mystic character of the process which by the way never receives explanatory detail at Paul's hands is implied in his treatment, and brings him into the most intimate touch with his wide circle of readers. Nevertheless, the points of contact must not be made too inclusive. The votary of the Oriental cult believed that he was putting on the god,[1] as he was being initiated into the secrets of his deity. The Hermetic literature attests the belief in a "real" participation in the nature of the god on the part of the initiate. "To be made a god" is the expression ever recurring. But such deification of the convert is never for a moment taught by the apostle Paul. Neither would Paul countenance many of the practical issues which sprang from the mystery observances. His vigorous ethical impulses would condemn any antinomian tendencies or any licentious excesses which were, for example, associated with the cult of Isis. Granted a "sacramental" theory implicit in his teaching, the point is never for a moment forgotten that the hidden life of Christ in the believer, which flowers into full bloom at the Parousia, is one of intense moral obligation, for which no magical process can ever be held as a substitute.

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[1] Loisy, Hibbert Journal, October 1911, p. 47.

With regard to the view that Paul's Gospel may have been interpreted by the Asian Churches as just such another cult as existed everywhere in their midst, it would not be at all impossible to hold that at least amongst a large number of non-Jewish people this belief prevailed. It is indeed difficult to ascertain the exact composition of the audiences to which Paul preached, or of the communities to which he wrote, but as his mission was on his own declaration to the Gentiles, many and diverse pagan classes must have been brought within the compass of his labors. It is also a fact that our knowledge of that religious syncretism of his time is not as full and as systematized as one might wish, but with the data at our disposal it seems safe to assert that religious yearnings found expression in complex mystic ritual, and Paul could scarcely avoid reacting upon such environment. Further, the fact that the whole process, magical as it may have been had for its all-important purpose, σωτηρία[1] the Salvation or Redemption of the individual from the burdens of this life,[2] whether these took the form of a belief in a ruthless Destiny, or in the hostile operations of demons within the body causing pain, disease and death, no matter how these burdens may have been construed, the craving for Salvation must have awakened within the heart of Paul a reaction which demanded an appro-

[1] Loisy, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Dionysos and Immortality, Wheeler, p. 53.

priate adjustment of his message. Might it here then be suggested that we have in these epistles in question, the mature reflection of the apostle upon the character of Christ and upon his soteriological capacity as a Saviour—that the earlier standpoint of his Messianic functions as a Deliverer from the coming wrath in Thessalonians, and of his implied subordination to the Father in I Corinthians, was now transcended, and that the central theme becomes more and more the exaltation of Christ, the summing up of all things in him who is all in all? (Colossians iii, 11; Ephesians i, 10). The word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι occurs only twice in the New Testament; in Romans xiii, 9, where it refers to the summing up of the various commandments in the one requirement of love to one's neighbour, and here in Ephesians i, 10. "It is an inclusive phrase, equivalent to the totality of Creation; not things only nor yet men or intelligent beings only —although the phrase might bear that sense (cf. Galatians iii, 22), but as the context shows, all created objects men and things."[1] Without then making any claim for the extensive derivation of Paul's teaching from the mysteries, yet at least his employment of many of their concepts showed how sympathetically he felt towards the "groping after God" which the mystic process in all its elaborate complexity of apparatus expressed. The gospel which he had to offer was in its one

[1] Expos. Greek Testament. Salmond, p. 261.

way a *μυστήριον* "which hath been hidden for ages and generations, but now hath it been manifested to the saints, to whom God was pleased to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you the hope of glory" (Colossians i, 26).[1]

To those who were searching after *γνῶσις* as the highest point, to which an initiate might climb in the ritual or magical direction, Paul could answer as he does in Colossians ii, 2, 3, by referring them to the "full assurance of understanding, that they may know the mystery of God, even Christ in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden." "Continue steadfastly in prayer, watching therein with thanksgiving; withal praying for us also that God may

[1] "The Mystery par excellence has a special reference to the Gentiles. In fact it is nothing less than the inclusion of the Gentiles, as well as the Jews in a common hope in Christ; . . . Christ in you, Gentiles—that is the great surprise. None could have foreseen it, or imagined it. It was God's secret. He has disclosed it to us." J. Armitage Robinson, Ephesians, p. 238.

Note. The use of the term *μυστήριον*, in the earlier epistles reflects much the same meaning as in the later, though in occasional instances it refers to a particular situation which is engrossing the attention of the apostle. The culmination of evil in the appearance of Antichrist is so described:—"the mystery of lawlessness" (I Thessalonians ii, 7). The wisdom of God is a mystery to the rulers of the world who, had it been revealed to them, "would not have crucified the Lord of Glory" (I Corinthians ii, 7, 8). Paul and the other apostles are "stewards of the mysteries of God" (I Corinthians iv, 1). Knowledge, prophecy and mysteries are valueless without love (I Corinthians xiii, 2). Unintelligible utterances are in the same category. "For no man understandeth; but in the spirit he speaketh mysteries" (I Corinthians xiv, 2). It applies to the resurrection of the pneumatic *σῶμα* (I Corinthians xv, 51); to the fact that the inclusion of the Gentiles within the kingdom of God will provoke to jealousy the Jews, tending to their conversion (Romans xi, 25, 26), and to the revelation of Jesus Christ (Romans xvi, 25-27).

open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ for which I am also in bonds, that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak" (Colossians iv, 2-4). The σωτηρία which was the one goal of the ardent votary of a mystery god had, in fact, already in its non-eschatological sense been attained by the apostle Paul. The exact nature of the process through which it was reached by him may not perhaps in its full characteristics be set forth. It cannot be doubted that Paul lays the greatest stress upon the importance of his conversion experience as he travelled to Damascus. This is evident by his references to it in Acts and the Epistles. The term which he generally uses is "revelation" (ἀποκάλυψις), or in certain cases "visions" (ὀπτασίαι). But still the further knowledge of Christ and his gospel came to Paul with the expansion of his missionary work throughout his travels. "And I went up by revelation; and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles but privately before them who were of repute" (Galatians ii, 2). "But unto us God revealed them through the Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God" (I Corinthians ii, 10). "I must needs glory, though it is not expedient, but I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord" (II Corinthians xii, 1). Whatever then may be the complete analysis of such an experience expressed by the term, σωτηρία, it, nevertheless, from the standpoint of Paul, lay hidden in the ἀποκάλυψις of Christ.

And just as in the development of certain Messianic ideas delineated in the foregoing treatment, concepts current in Judaistic language were often changed with respect to their content, in the bold originality of Paul, so here the same terms in use in the religious formulations of his churches, μυστήριον, ἀποκάλυψις, ὀπτασία, σοφία, γνῶσις, and many others, though still retained, are charged with new content. Paul was not attempting to place Christ as simply another object of worship alongside of Attis, Osiris and other deities. He would never have held to a syncretism in which a rival to Christ might claim equal standing ground. The supreme Lordship of Christ is so explicitly shown where, again and again, Paul exhausts his vocabulary in picturing the dominion over which Christ reigns. "That in all things he might have the pre-eminence" (Colossians i, 18). The phrase, τὰ πάντα, is one which he is never tired of using in this connection. In Christ all things are created and reconciled. "Things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers; . . . whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens" (Colossians i, 16, 20). The μυστήριον is Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden (Colossians ii, 2, 3). The elements of the world, στοιχεῖα, however interpreted, whether on Jewish grounds they are con-

sidered as the ritual of Judaism,[1] or in respect to Oriental speculation they represent the rule of the archons,[2] are in subjection to Christ, for "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full who is the head of all principality (ἀρχῆς) and power" (Colossians ii, 9, 10). All archons have been despoiled by him and led in his triumphal procession (Colossians ii, 15).[3] The literature of the time dwells upon the resurrection of the mystery god from his grave to his celestial abode. The initiatory ritual was supposed to accomplish a similar resurrection for the votary. It is true that nowhere does Paul show any inclination of taking over the machinery of any one of the cults. He never refers to the processions, the orgies, the bloody sacrifices or the priestly formulæ attending a mystery demonstration as a part of the σωτηρία accomplished by Christ. But still the pageant that signalized the conquest of Osiris over death is surpassed in its splendour by the triumph of Christ whom God "raised from the dead and made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world but

[1] Hort, p. 118.

[2] Reitzenstein, Poimandres, quoted by Clemen, op. cit. 109.

[3] Hort, Judaistic Christianity, p. 125.

also in that which is to come"[1] (Ephesians i, 20, 21).

Thus from the foregoing argument we conclude that it was this tendency to establish the indisputable supremacy of Christ over against that of every deity or archon worshipped in his day, that caused Paul to make use of the very predicates which he employs in the epistle to the Philippians. It has already been pointed out that, in Judaistic theology, the appearance of the Messiah upon earth was not conceived in the light of a humiliation or a deprivation of his powers natural to his pre-existent state. But the famous passage in Philippians ii, 6-8 illustrates the decided contrast between Christ's earthly life of humility and weakness culminating in the cross and his pre-existent condition. This passage, like many others quoted above is not without its peculiar difficulties, but one point seems to stand out clearly, viz.: that in the ascent of the predicates evidenced by this epistle as also in Colossians and Ephesians, the apostle has climbed so far that it was the shortest step to the designation of Christ as θεός. If these terms, elusive as they are in their precise signification, do not admit of the predication of Deity yet they certainly express such an approximation thereto,

[1] "Thus presented in dramatic form, the incidents of the Osiris myth made a powerful impression upon the people, . . . Osiris thus gained a place in the life and hopes of the common people, held by no other god. The royal destiny of Osiris and his triumph over death, thus vividly portrayed in dramatic form, rapidly disseminated among the people the belief that this destiny, once probably reserved for the king, might be shared by all." Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 290.

that they cannot in the thought of Paul be applied to any other being. Just as the description of Christ in his pre-existent state requires for Paul the highest categories which the language of his day furnished him, so the picture of Christ's exaltation needed the loftiest imagery reached by his imagination. When definitely-cut concepts failed him, he still could say that God had given him a "name which is above every name," and that all things—notice again the exhaustive character of his description—"in heaven, on earth, and under the earth" should pay their homage to his name, and that "every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father" (Philippians ii, 9-11). On the one hand, it is true that certain functions are still held to be exclusively in the possession of God, as for example, it is God who raised Jesus from the dead, who gives him his exalted name, who placed him at his right hand, and again it is God to whom belongs whatever properties might be included in the expression—"God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

But on the other hand, all knowledge, wisdom and salvation, and Creative capacity are "summed up" in Christ, and even if the most searching analysis of Paul's thought carried on by the aid of exegesis, historical criticism and theology fails to reach a unanimous verdict upon the significance of the predicates applied, it can at least be seen how one path of development might easily lie in the direction of the Christological dogmas of the third and subsequent centuries.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

When we now come to gather up the results of our inquiry, it seems clear that Paul's treatment of the special concepts coming under our review shows many affinities with, and considerable divergences from, antecedent and contemporary Jewish tradition. When Paul designates by Psyche the life of the individual in its **Psyche.** personal and social relations, and specifically the emotions such as distress and pain, tenderness and solicitude, and even volitional processes, he is using the thought and language of his time. But the term with the possible exception of Romans ii, 9, has little, if any, explicit reference to the life after death, and in this lies its main difference from preceding apocalyptic thought which used psyche and pneuma interchangeably in this relationship.

With regard to kardia, the apostle introduces **Kardia.** practically no change in its customary applications. It is one of his most comprehensive terms. It includes the emotional content of psyche but emphasizes in addition the intellectual and volitional processes of knowledge, judgment, belief, conviction, determination etc., and kardia, like psyche, has its main content in the religious life lived upon the earth. Other terms not so much

in evidence such as conscience, thoughts, mind and reasonings serve to accentuate the more intellectual phases comprehended under kardia.

Sarx and Soma.

Sarx in many instances bears, like psyche, both the generic and individual reference without any precise moral implications. It possesses intensive emotional qualities, and may therefore upon occasion be substituted for psyche. Soma shares the same usage as sarx in denoting the physical life, but differs from the latter in that it is not a normal term for the emotions. Its specific reference is to an organism human, angelic or stellar. But the characteristic content of sarx, in Paul, is seen in its ethical contrast with pneuma. This is not a borrowing from the Alexandrian dualism, for the sarx or soma when not used in the antithetic relation to pneuma may serve, under specified conditions, to designate righteous action. Still in the treatment of such a contrast, the sarx stands generally for complex evil processes, and may occasionally be interchanged for other expressions as "the old man, outwardly, the circumcision of the letter of the law, eye-service, etc."

Pneuma.

Pneuma resembles kardia in the wide range of its application, denoting the intellectual, volitional and emotional processes, and may, though very infrequently, have a sinister reference, for example, its possible domination by the sarx. Its prevalent usage, however, is to indicate the conformity of human life on the earth with the life of Jesus in direct opposition to the life of the sarx in the sense pointed out in the preceding

paragraph. On its distinctively post-earthly or eschatological side it characterizes the new organism given by God to the Christian—a heavenly and incorruptible organism which replaces the earthly and perishable one of flesh and blood. It stands for the present existence of Christ in the heavens; for the power of God who raised Jesus from the dead, and who likewise raises believers in Christ from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. It also represents, especially in the later epistles, those "powers, and rules, and principalities," not of flesh and blood, against which the Christian warfare is incessantly waged. In Acts, it is particularly the source of the direction of Paul's missionary activity and of the success of his work among the Gentiles.

It is in the setting forth of the larger eschatological concepts that Paul appears to exhibit a gradual development of thought. There is little ground for an hypothesis of a static eschatology. In his earliest epistles he states his Palestinian belief in the imminence of the Parousia, fully **The Parousia.** expecting to be alive at the crisis, and paints the picture of the end of the æon in Jewish lineaments and coloring. Here, as throughout all his letters, the Parousia is the appearance of Jesus Christ who from the time of his ascension existed in the heavens, and whose reappearance was to be the signal for the passing away of the present æon and the inauguration of the consummated kingdom. The Second Thessalonian epistle intro- **Its Time.** duces details not explicit in the first, such as a

culmination of apostasy couched in the characteristically veiled symbolism of Palestinian apocalyptic—a feature which would imply a greater postponement of the Parousia than possibly Paul's converts had anticipated, but nevertheless does not exclude its occurrence within the apostle's lifetime. With the succession of the epistles, there becomes increasingly manifest the tendency to ignore lurid accompaniments; to express the whole apocalyptic change by a single phrase as The Day, or The Day of the Lord Jesus, or The Day of Redemption, and to focus attention upon the conformity of the new life and organism of the Christian to that of Christ in his supra-earthly existence. In addition to this, the belief in the occurrence of the Parousia within his lifetime loses some of its earlier conviction with advancing age, although indeed right to the end the time is considered near.

The Resurrection. His teaching concerning the Resurrection is occupied first with the resurrection of Jesus, and then with that of Christians, and exhibits as the epistles follow each other a sense of the growing importance of the former in relation to the latter. The resurrection of Jesus becomes in Paul's thought the ground of the claim for the same change in his followers—a change which is already in operation in the renewed life of an individual upon earth but becomes completely manifested at the Parousia. The concept shows some variation from the Pharisaic point of view, in that as the argument is essentially based upon the rela-

tion of Christ to his followers, this hope, together with that of the new life in the Messianic æon is therefore not extended to the wicked.

The description of the Messianic æon in the apostle's treatment is by no means elaborate in its details. Certain expressive phrases as Deliverance from Wrath, Glory, Salvation, Redemption, The Inheritance, and such like, epitomize the life of the future kingdom. The tendency throughout is to make the scene of Messianic blessedness a transcendent and pneumatic one, that is, in the heavens, though the germane passages in I Thessalonians, and the fifteenth chapter of I Corinthians are sometimes interpreted as implying an intervening kingdom of an earthly type. In this consummated kingdom ethnic distinctions are abolished, the union of human beings with Christ being the only ground of citizenship. **The Messianic aeon.**

Again, Paul's conception of Christ becomes characterized by greater amplitude of treatment in the later letters. The Imprisonment epistles employ the highest type of predicates in setting forth the functions of Christ, not merely in respect to the Parousia, the Judgment, the end of the old æon and the inauguration of the new, but also in respect to the development of human history and of the world in general. And it is concluded here that among the important factors that led the apostle to this High Christology were his reflections upon the significance of the resurrection of Jesus, and of his eschatological functions in their bearing upon the future of mankind **Christology.**

and of the world, together with the influences of contemporary religious systems that extended to their disciples the hope of redemption through the initiatory processes of the cults.

This summary deals, then, with what may readily be seen as a comparatively highly developed content of religion, a content which was naturally the product of centuries of reflective activity. It is clear that the religious ideas of the first Christian century cannot receive adequate treatment without being brought into the closest relationship with the national beliefs and customs forged out of the vicissitudes and struggles of the late Greek and early Roman periods. Likewise the formative conceptions of these two centuries, crystallizing as they do into fairly definite shape out of national crises, are in part the refinements of many of the leading ideas that constituted the teaching and outlook of the prophets. In fact, the memorials of ancient Hebrew religion attest to a growing complexity of religious thought wherein the beliefs and practices of a given age are seen to emerge out of the age anterior to it, though indeed to a greater or less extent remoulded by the social, political and international movements then in progress. In this historical evolution, one cannot take a belief at a specific time, and consider it as a ready-made product whose genesis needs no further explanation or derivation, for a full analysis of the case demands an inquiry into religious origins as they are found in the roots of Semitic antiquity. And even here further investi-

gation is barred only by the paucity of data concerning so distant a past.

Now it would seem that in its most primitive types, religious life was expressed in a complexity of ritual and practical observances prescribed by tribal and local customs where the objects of worship were concrete natural phenomena as plants, trees, wind and fire, etc., together with certain animals especially noted for characteristics intimately related to the idea of the perpetuation of tribal existence. None of the concepts that we are dealing with here can be said to have been formed at this stage in the history of religion, though such original rites and sanctions formed the data out of which the later concepts arose. Certain properties of such objects are abstracted from others, and synthesized into concepts which are then regarded as having definite objective existence in the mythical god, no longer seen but imagined. The period under review in this thesis already possessed such products as an inheritance from its past, but the point must ever be borne in mind that these concepts of imagination and reflection underwent similar developments in succeeding centuries, keeping pace with the intellectual progress of the people, with their social advancement and their international relations. And in the course of Jewish history they were the decisive factors in the advance of the nation's civilization in the widest sense. The Messianic concept, for example, not only emerged out of the national hopes of a given state of society, but

became again the ground of reinvigorated faith amidst long stretches of misfortune and disaster, and the analysis of this interplay between great religious beliefs and customs, and their underlying conditions in the social and political experiences of the Jewish people, may properly be called the psychology of their religion.

Some of these factors in the development have already been pointed out. Many words and phrases in the vocabulary of the prophets were carried over into apocalyptic, and finally these Hebrew terms were exchanged for Greek expressions. Now it is obvious that in the employment of a Greek term for the expression of a Jewish idea, for example, pneuma for ruach, or psyche for nephesh, or Parousia or Day of the Lord for the Day of Yahweh, certain shades of meaning may have been taken up by the old term, and conversely, the former content of the Greek term may have been modified by its substitution for the Hebrew term which thus designated a basal Hebrew idea, and this factor is of supreme importance in the growth of all concepts religious and otherwise.

But influences other than those of the linguistic type had been constantly at work for many centuries preceding Paul's time in the transformation of old concepts, and in the production of new ones. The general drift of development shows at least two lines along which the process of concept-formation took place. The first is what might be called a process of attenuation by

means of which a given concept would lose much of its original content by normal refinement in the history of theJewish religion. The second tends towards the gradual enrichment of the concept by the introduction of new properties contingent upon the many pressing issues emerging out of the critical periods through which the nation was passing. The concept of individual resurrection, for instance, can scarcely be said to have been definitely formed before the third century B.C. If the term is used at all in the literature before this period, it can only apply to the restoration of the nation from exile, or to its deliverance from foreign oppression, or possibly to its reinstatement in the favor of Yahweh following general repentance. It was in the Maccabæan times that the term stood specifically for the raising from the grave of a deceased individual that he might share with the survivors the blessings of the Messianic kingdom. In the earlier apocalyptic teaching, the body which was to be raised would possess to a remarkable degree its former earthly characteristics, but in later thought these properties were abandoned, and were replaced by others of a supra-earthly character. It is not necessary here to review the historical causes of this operation. It is but sufficient to indicate that the processes of analysis, abstraction and synthesis were continuously operative in the concept-construction. The former was in evidence in the gradual abandonment of earthly content, a result of the developing pessimism of the Jewish out-

look for the national future; and the synthetic process was exhibited in the combination of qualities to form a concept, for example, like that of the resurrected soma with its properties of eternal life and felicity, its garment of radiance and glory, its abode in the heavens or among the stars, etc. This period of apocalyptic which may be regarded as accretive is especially noted for its rich and varied development along the foregoing line. In one respect it differs from the prophetic age. Prophecy in the main had laid great stress upon moral duties, and its chief concept was the character of Yahweh in his relation to human actions. It had also developed others like the Day of Yahweh, the Messianic kingdom, but it showed a striking reticence in its treatment of the concepts of Sheol, Resurrection, and of the Ruach and Nephesh in their eschatological significance. Indeed with regard to these, it had by reaction from many current beliefs pushed the process of abstraction so far that the above terms possessed the barest minimum of content.

It remained for Jewish speculation of the Greek period to work out these concepts by an elaborate procedure in which, while not ignoring the process of analysis, it yet placed the greater emphasis upon the synthetic phase of the operation. How this analytic-synthetic method was perpetuated, amidst the new scenes and interests that formed the background of the Christian propaganda of the middle of the first century A.D. may be seen in the foregoing treatment of the concepts

in the thought of Paul. But it must be remembered that technical formulation was not his purpose. Practically all of the terms were current in the vocabulary of his time, and so little were they fixed in their connotation that they were often used in fluid substitution for each other. Hence the concepts which they covered would lack the precision of scientific definition, although in the preaching and epistolary activities of the apostle they readily lent themselves to popular interpretation.